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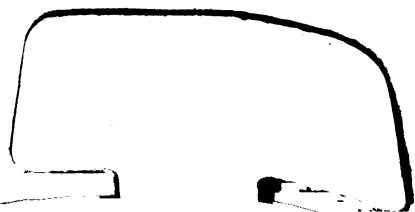
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HUNGARY

PAST AND PRESENT:

EMBRACING ITS

HISTORY FROM THE MAGYAR CONQUEST
TO THE PRESENT TIME.

WITH A SKETCH OF HUNGARIAN LITERATURE.

BY

EMERIC SZABAD,

LATE SECRETARY

UNDER THE HUNGARIAN NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OF 1849.

EDINBURGH:

ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK.

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TO
EDWARD W. LANE, ESQ., M.A., M.D.,
THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE INSCRIBED
AS A
MEMORIAL OF FRIENDSHIP.



PREFACE.

THE following pages are the substance of materials for a detailed history of Hungary, the collection of which I commenced two years ago in London ; and which were, from various considerations, compressed into the smallest compass possible. Having had at my disposal all the resources which could have been obtained in Buda-Pesth, the chief object in view was to record—with more attention to historical truth than to any attractions of form—all those facts and broad incidents without which no true picture could have been given of the general physiognomy of Hungarian society throughout the various phases of its existence.

Next to the narrow and biassed histories of Pray and Katona, who amply drew upon the early chroniclers of Hungary, Hungarian history gained most by the labours of Gebhardi, Engel, and Fessler ; though these latter works are characterised more by their comparatively liberal treatment of the subject, than by any important additions to the stock of historical knowledge properly so called. Nor is there any new light imparted in the most recent history by Horvath, who had the advantage of availing himself of the

libraries and archives of Vienna.¹ The best guides for Hungarian historical writing, it must be observed, are the *Corpus Juris*, containing the Dietal Acts of the Ante-Hapsburg periods, and the *Historia Diplomatica*, embracing the chief documents of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Having been able to avail myself of sources which seem to have been unknown to the historians above named, the following pages will be found to contain some new and important facts. As regards the divisions followed in this book, the guiding rule was the internal connection of events; the space allowed to each period being measured out according to its importance. The last twenty-five years, including the late war, are, as might be expected, treated at comparatively greater length.

How far the main object in view—the representation of the broad features of Hungarian history—has been accomplished, is for the reader to judge.

Edinburgh, January 12, 1854.

¹ It may be mentioned that the archives of Buda were long since carried away by the court to the Austrian capital, and are, of course, not easily accessible.

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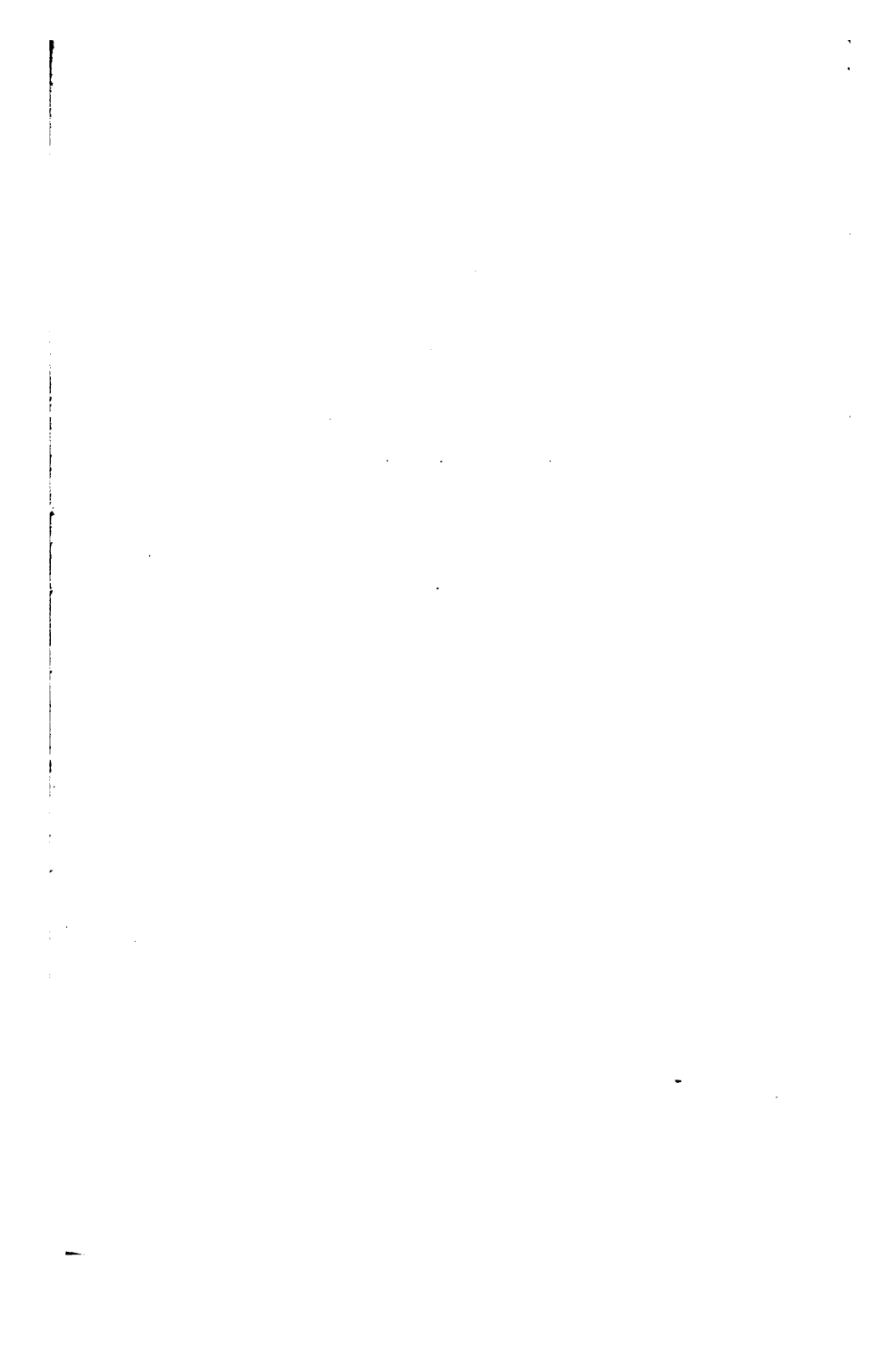
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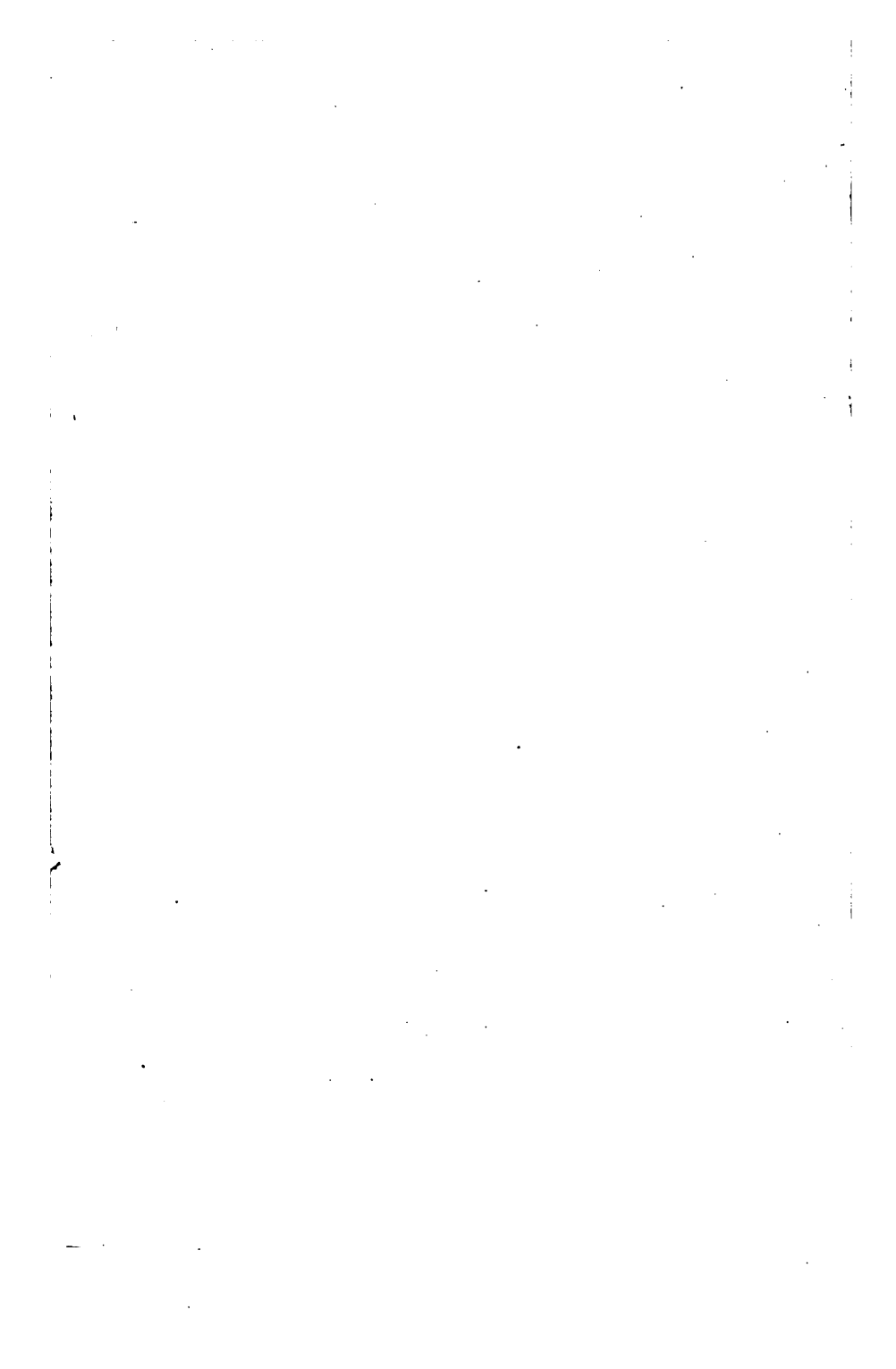
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PART I.—889-1301.



HISTORY OF HUNGARY.

FIRST PERIOD—889-1301.

CHAPTER I.

HUNGARY FROM THE MAGYAR CONQUEST TO THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY (889-1000.)

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

I PROPOSE to treat, in the pages that follow, the History of Hungary from the day of its first appearance among the states of Europe, down to the year 1850. The annals of this long period, comprising more than 950 years, are for the most part steeped in blood, shed at first in daring adventures and fierce intestine struggles, subsequently in efforts to stem the tide of Eastern conquest that threatened to subjugate the whole of Christian Europe; and, in more recent times, in struggles against the oppressive rule of foreign princes.

The Hungarians, or Magyars, from whom the kingdom of Hungary received its boundaries, its name, and its laws, cannot be said to have originated any distinct principle of European civilization: their chief merit is to have become, after surviving all their calamities, both desirous and fit for its attainment. The best monument, in fact, of this people, is its very existence, still standing forth, after innumerable blasts, like a forest of oak-trees, deep-rooted and green.

The settlement of the Magyars in Europe—the last successful invasion during the middle ages—though passed over almost in silence by the generality of historians, had a deep and world-wide meaning. The very date of this remarkable conquest impressively attests the wisdom of the superhuman Power that guides the migrations of mankind.

The origin of the Magyars has afforded to antiquarians no small subject of controversy. According to some, they are the descendants of the ancient *Scythians*; others class them among the *Turkish* tribes; some pretend that they are descended from the *Huns*; others, again, attempt to prove their *Parthian* extraction; while the great antiquarian of Hungary, Stephen Horvath, finds no difficulty in tracing back the pedigree of the Magyars to *Noah*. More recent and practical inquiries, however, enable us safely to throw aside all vague opinion and mere etymological speculation; and whoever reads Huc's *Travels in Tartary*, that is at all acquainted with the characteristics of the Hungarian race, will find sufficient evidence to conclude that the Magyar belongs to those Mogul-Tartar tribes which live, down to the present day, scattered along the confines of China.

The Magyars (the idiomatic synonym for Hunga-

rians, and probably the proper name of one of their tribes), driven by internal dissensions from their native deserts, found a home for centuries around the Caucasus, and along the barren shores of the Wolga. About the end of the ninth century they suddenly struck their tents, and pressed irresistibly forward to the very heart of Europe. What the fate might have been of these wandering shepherds, had an arm like that of Charlemagne still swayed the sceptre in Pannonia: or rather, what the fate might have been of Christian Europe, had the conquest of the Turks preceded that of the Magyars, is a question on which it were idle to speculate. The Invisible Power had chosen his own time, and at the destined moment, these Asiatic nomades, as if borne on the wings of the gale, were all at once seen to cover the wide plains which divide the Eastern empire from that of the West.

Immediately after crossing the eastern frontier (A.D. 889), the Magyars elected for their chief Arpad, the son of Almos, who conducted them to the frontiers of Hungary. The latter did not survive to see the conquest. The whole body under Arpad's guidance consisted of about a million, numbering among them about two hundred thousand warriors, and divided into seven tribes, each having its chief.

The country which they prepared to take possession of, and the central part of which was then called Pannonia, was broken up into small parts, and inhabited by races dissimilar in origin and language; as Sclavonians, Wallachians, a few Huns and Avars, as well as some Germans. Before commencing the conquest, the Magyars entered into a compact, which throws some light on their general character. This compact

consisted of the following points: 1st, The chief power was to be hereditary in the family of Arpad, while the power of the chiefs of the respective tribes was to be hereditary also; 2d, Each successive prince was obliged to undergo an election before assuming the supreme power; 3d, Treason or faithlessness on the part of the chief of the state was to be punished with banishment, and, in the case of the chiefs of the tribes, with death; 4th, The fruits of the conquest were to be divided according to merit in the work of the conquest. Nor did these stern barbarians dispatch this solemn agreement with a mere verbal oath. In the centre of a circle was placed a rude vessel of hollowed stone. Around it stood the assembled chiefs of the tribes. Then Arpad, first baring his arm, pierced it with the point of his falchion, till the blood flowed into the basin of stone. The chiefs of the tribes followed his example in succession, till the vessel reeked with the warm blood. Each man then put his lips to the bowl, and quaffing the mingled draught, they testified, in the presence of the high sun, which they worshipped, their solemn purpose to conquer or die together.

The religion of these invaders will give us a deeper insight into their character. The first thing we meet with in their creed is the doctrine of the two principles. This points sufficiently, without the help of etymological distortions, to the parent land of the Magyars. Isten, now the word for God, was the name of the principle of Good—the omnipotent Being whom they worshipped—whose ministers were the thunder, the lightning, and the storm. Armany (meaning intrigue) was the name of the principle of Evil. The next important point of belief was the immortality of the soul; hence their contempt of death, as well as the festivities,

mingling gaiety with sadness, which characterized their funeral ceremonies, some traces of which remain down to the present day. Their priests, or soothsayers, called Taltos, were, however, far from enjoying the influence and authority possessed by this order in Indian society. Nor is this to be wondered at. A people who, in their long migrations, had experienced every vicissitude of fortune, and who saw life in its nakedness and awful realities, were likely to have learned neither to be awed by the evil bodings, nor to confide in the fair promises of the soothsayer. The rude intellect and fancy of these shepherds was awed only by the sublime workings of nature, and their sacrifices were offered to the elements. The sun, whose all-vivifying power they must have deeply felt around the frosty Caucasus, was held in the highest reverence. To this bright star of heaven the Magyars offered white steeds, deemed by them the most precious of sacrifices.

Arpad soon descended with his followers on those wide plains, whence Attila four centuries before swayed two parts of the globe. Most dexterous horsemen, armed with light spears and almost unerring bows, these invaders followed their leader from victory to victory, soon rendering themselves masters of the land lying between the Theiss and the Danube, carrying at the same time their devastations, on the one hand, to the Adriatic, and, on the other, towards the German frontiers. Having achieved the conquest, Arpad took up his residence on the Danubian isle, Csepel, though the seat of the court was Buda or Attelburg. All that is known of the policy of this founder of Hungary is, the division of the country into several districts, each of them being ruled by a governor of a

military character. Arpad had also sagacity enough to elevate the higher classes of the vanquished to the level of the conquerors, a policy to which may chiefly be attributed the non-occurrence of subsequent internal risings on the part of the aborigines. This policy, however, was far from bringing about in Hungary that assimilation of races which was accomplished in Britain, in spite of the contrary policy pursued by the Norman conqueror. The causes of this difference will be referred to afterwards. In the year 907, Arpad died, and was succeeded by his son Zoltan. The love of their new dominion was far from curbing the passion of the Magyars for distant bloody adventure and plunder. The most daring deeds were undertaken by single chiefs, during the reign of Zoltan and his successor Taksony, which filled up the first part of the tenth century. The enervated and superstitious population of Europe thought the Magyars to be the scourge of God, directly dropped down from heaven; the very report of their approach was sufficient to drive thousands into the recesses of mountains and depths of forests, while the priests increased the common panic by mingling in their litanies the words, "God preserve us from the Magyars." In short, Europe, still smarting from the wounds of the Normans and Saracens, seemed to fall a complete prey to these wild and unexpected ravagers. Nor was there much worth sparing; political society being in a state of disorganization, the church torn with violent dissensions, and everywhere strong symptoms of rottenness and decay. Bloody feuds, in which impotent princes and degenerate vassals mingled in wildest confusion, turned Germany and Italy into a huge camp; while the controversy about the use of unleavened bread in

the eucharist, raised by the Greek patriarch Photius, still continued to divide the eastern from the western church. This was the fit time for these insatiable plunderers. The Magyars little heeding the disputes of churchmen, desecrated alike Roman monasteries and Greek churches, ready to support whatever party first asked their aid. The irruptions of the Magyars were simultaneously felt on the shores of the Baltic, among the inhabitants of the Alps, and at the very gates of Constantinople. The emperors of the East and of Germany were repeatedly obliged to purchase momentary peace by heavy tributes; but Germany, as may be conceived from her geographical position, was chiefly exposed to the ravages of these new neighbours. The first check and signal defeat the Magyars sustained in Germany was during the reign of Otho the Great. Having been invited by Ludolf, son of Otho, who was at war with his father, the Magyars, in the year 955, advanced as far as the walls of Augsburg, when, having been betrayed by him, to whose aid they had come, they were totally defeated by the troops of the emperor, hundreds of them perishing in the waves of the Lech. The chronicles tell us that only seven Magyars survived this fatal battle. Having had their ears and noses cut off by command of the emperor, they were sent down the Rhine and Danube back to Hungary, to spread their tale of terror among those who remained at home. After their arrival in Hungary, the infamy inflicted upon them being attributed to their cowardice, these seven unfortunates, with all their descendants, were declared bereft of their liberties, consigned to slavery, and, as an eternal example of the punishment of cowardice, they were called *Magyar-kak*, i.e., "false Magyars." This stigma

continued to be attached to them even during the time of St Stephen, when this king disposed of them as servants to the cloister of St Lazarus at Gran, when they received the name of St Lazaruzes.

With the reign of Geisa a new epoch commenced. This prince was married to the Princess Charlotte of Transylvania, who, accompanying her father to Constantinople, had there embraced the Christian faith, and to whom Geisa owed his conversion in 971. This prince took care to have his son Vaik brought up in the Christian religion, a work accomplished by St Adalbert, to whom may chiefly be ascribed the conversion of the Magyars to the western church. Adalbert, who had been nominated by the Pope Bishop of Prague, dissatisfied with the small success of his efforts to convert the Bohemians, abandoned his lucrative post, and went as a monk to Rome, intending thence to proceed to the Holy Land. Having changed his purpose, however, he repaired to Hungary, and the first fruit of his labours was the conversion of the young Prince Vaik, afterwards known by the name of St Stephen.

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN OF THE ARPAD DYNASTY (1000-1301.)

THE eleventh century begins with the simultaneous appearance of two new elements in Hungarian society, —Christianity and royalty. Vaik, who succeeded his father Geisa in the supreme power, no longer content with the titles of his ancestors, resolved to assume the regal dignity, for which, according to the usage of the times, he made application to the Roman See. A deputation, consisting of several nobles, headed by Astricus, Bishop of Kolocso, was accordingly sent to Pope Sylvester II., asking him to confer a consecrated crown on their master, and to sanction the ecclesiastical arrangements and appointments Vaik had already made. The pope readily acceded to their demand, and his brief to the ruler of Hungary is couched in the following terms:—"Sylvester the servant of God to Stephen Duke of Hungary his salutation and apostolic benediction. We felt rejoiced at the arrival of the ambassadors of Hungary, revealed to us beforehand by the Divine Power.¹ We render thanks to God our Father, who in our days raised up for Geisa a son like unto David: We accede to him, in the name of the Almighty, the diadem and title of King, and confirm all his ecclesiastical nominations. The

¹ His Holiness, as the legend informs us, had received intimation of the coming event in a dream.

more to prove our respect for him and his successors, who will be chosen by the Great of the realm, we grant to him and to those by whom he will be succeeded, our cross as an apostolic sign, and give them power, as our vicegerents, to regulate and dispose of ecclesiastical affairs at present and for the time to come."¹ No sooner did the apostolic crown arrive in Hungary, than Vaik was crowned king, under the name of Stephen. The first care of this king was to continue his ecclesiastical organization, which consisted in the establishment of the archbishopric of Gran, the nomination of other bishops, and the rapid building of churches and cloisters. As an apostolic king, Stephen was the head of the Hungarian church, presiding over the synods, and determining certain ecclesiastical usages.

Of much more importance were his political measures. The whole country was divided into counties, each of them governed by a lord-lieutenant and a sheriff nominated by the crown—an arrangement which necessarily overthrew the power formerly enjoyed by the chiefs of the tribes. The office of viceroy was represented by a palatine, who served as the mediator between the king and the people. Stephen instituted also a state-council, consisting of the barons, the high clergy, and the middle class nobility, or *milites*. These *milites*, similar to the English yeomanry, enjoyed their privileges in consequence of their military service, from which even the clergy were not exempt. The unprivileged class was called Jobba-

¹ See *Histoire des Révolutions de Hongrie*: ou on donne une idée juste de son légitime gouvernement, avec les *Memoires* des Prince Rakoczy. A la Haye, MDCCXXXIX., vol. i. p. 5.

giones, a term applied at a later period to the serfs, though at that time the slaves or serfs were an entirely distinct class. In the assembly of nobles convoked by the king in the year 1010, Hungary received its first written laws, known by the name of the Decrete of St Stephen, and which consisted of civil, ecclesiastical, and criminal statutes. In regard to the latter, it will be enough to mention, that treason was pronounced the first of crimes, and punished with death or banishment. Perjury was sometimes punished with the loss of a hand, or a heavy fine in cattle, a circumstance sufficiently proving the scarcity of money, though coin was struck in the reign of this king.

The measures adopted by Stephen for the general introduction of the Christian religion were marked by extreme tyranny and violence. Laws were enacted to the effect, that every one should forsake his old creed and embrace the Christian religion, and that those who proved refractory should be punished with slavery or banishment. Enraged by this arbitrary power exercised by the propagators of the Christian faith, whose barbarous Latin was unintelligible to their ears, the people continued to cling with tenacious reverence to the old rites, so intimately connected with the memory of their ancestors, and determined to defend their liberty of conscience at the risk of their lives. The spirit of rebellion soon assumed a dangerous shape, and loud murmurs were heard against the monarch, who, besides the assumption of foreign titles and dignities, introduced ignorant foreign monks to tyrannise over the children of those warriors who had sealed the conquest of Hungary with their own blood. Stephen, allied with the German princes by his marriage with Gisela, Princess of Bavaria, found no diffi-

culty in getting foreign mercenaries to fight against his discontented subjects, and the soil of Hungary was for the first time stained with blood shed in the name of religion. The first decisive encounter between the adherents of the old faith and their king took place at Veszprim, where, after a sanguinary battle, the people were defeated. Their leader, Kupa, was taken prisoner, and sentenced by the king to be quartered; the four parts of his body were sent round, as a stimulus to conversion, throughout every part of the country. This atrocious piece of zeal did not hinder the See of Rome from afterwards giving Stephen a place in the catalogue of the saints. The terrible fate of Kupa was, however, insufficient to make the people embrace what they did not understand. In the dead of night, groups met here and there, under the groves and by the side of the rivers, pouring out prayers to the old Isten, chanting hymns to departed heroes, and imploring the wrath of Heaven on a prince whom they could not but regard as the worst of tyrants. It is needless to observe, that the coercive measures of Stephen only served to retard the spread of Christianity in Hungary; and even the next century witnessed some vestiges of the ancient faith. Time, however, may well extenuate the blame attached to the name of a young and inexperienced prince acted upon by subtle and fanatical monks, and the benefits of whose reign far exceeded his sins. The institutions called into life by Stephen survived more than eight hundred years, fraught with every vicissitude of fortune; institutions which, demolished as they *now* are, are still sufficient in some measure to paralyse the hands of the Austrian Kaiser, despite his courts-martial and his gibbets.

Stephen's reign ended with his death in the year 1038. All the chronicles are loud in the praise of this prince; some extolling the impartiality with which he treated the different races of people, others commending his patronage of learning. "When Stephen ascended to heaven," says the legend, "he was escorted by a host of angels, who filled the air with hymns of joy, glad in the society of their new companion, while the flock he had left on earth was sunk into deep mourning. The high and low, rich and poor, all sat for three years weeping the departure of their king, while the sounds of the fiddle, pipe, and drum were hushed. This sainted king, however," continues the legend, "who lay entombed at Weisenburg, commiserated the grief of his people, and lo! angels were seen hovering over his tomb, filling the air with music, and spreading sweet odours around. After forty-five years, St Stephen was disinterred, and when the marble was taken from his coffin sweet fragrance arose, filling the bystanders with awe and devotion. Carried to the church of St Mary, the coffin was opened, his remains were found to be still fresh, and lying in limpid water. But wonderful it was to see that the saint wanted the right hand,—this the Almighty caused to disappear for his own glory; and henceforth this day is every year solemnised by the faithful."

The death of Stephen, without leaving a successor to his crown, gave rise to new internal troubles. His widow Gisela tried to raise her brother Peter to the Hungarian throne, while the majority of the nobles rallied round Aba, or Apa, a prince of the blood of Arpad. The war carried on by these two rivals gave an opportunity for the interference of the German emperor. But the sudden death of both these claim-

ants put an end to the quarrel; and Andrew I., an Arpadian prince, was crowned king in 1047. The reign of this prince, as well as that of his three immediate successors, Bela I., Solomon, and Geiso I., offers nothing of much importance, except the capture of Belgrade, in 1073. More important was the reign of Ladislaus, afterwards canonized, who was crowned in 1079. This prince marched his troops to Croatia and Dalmatia, which provinces he annexed to the Hungarian crown, and signalized himself in the war against the Cumans, an eastern tribe which had made an inroad upon Hungary. But, though warlike, Ladislaus is better known for his piety and Christian zeal, surpassing in the power of wonder-working even St Stephen himself. In one of his expeditions against the Cumans (we are told) it happened that the invaders were put to flight, and finding themselves sorely pressed by the troops of Ladislaus, tried to check the ardour of the pursuit by throwing all their treasures to the ground. The king perceiving that his men stopped in their course to gather up the strewn riches, turned his eyes up to heaven, and lo! all the treasure was changed into stones. On another occasion, his men ran short of water and provisions, when at St Ladislaus' words springs began to gush forth from the soil, and all kinds of game appeared in abundance in the midst of the camp,—the spear or arrow amply enabling his troops to satisfy their hunger with costly venison. More substantial than these wonders was the convocation of the diet in the year 1092, which consisted not only of barons and bishops, but also of the lower clergy and the so-called *populus*, or lower nobility. The chief provisions of this diet, known under the name of the *decretum* of Ladislaus, are pro-

perly divided into three parts, referring to the distribution of justice, and the state of the clergy in particular. Some of the provisions relating to this order may serve to throw some light on the state of the clergy at that time. For example, a punishment was enacted against ecclesiastics found guilty of keeping concubines, or of stealing a goose or a hen. It is not to be wondered at, that a part of the people still preferred singing the ancient hymns to their Isten rather than listen to the masses and sermons of these hen-stealing worthies, and that the sovereign found it necessary to enact a new law against the exercise of the old rites. Ladislaus died in 1095, at a juncture when Hungary was threatened with utter ruin from a quite unexpected quarter—the Crusades.

These vast and licentious masses, which at the cry of Peter the Hermit hastened to depopulate Europe before saving Jerusalem, took their way to the Holy Land through Hungary. Many of them committed deeds of unheard of violence: some, caught by the charms of the sprightly Hungarian damsels; and others, enamoured of the good Hungarian ham and mutton, betrayed strong symptoms of having mistaken the country of the Magyars for the land that “flowed with milk and honey.” Hungary, thus in danger of falling a prey to locusts, had need of a brave and enlightened monarch to save it from their ravages. Such a sovereign was found in Coloman, the nephew of St Ladislaus.

The first swarm which passed through Hungary was led by Peter in person, and was quickly followed by other hordes, commanded by Walter the Penniless, Count Emico, and Peter Gotshalk. Each of these was preceded in its march by a goat and a goose,

leaders conceived by them to be actuated by the divine Spirit. A spectacle such as this could not fail, as may be imagined, to render the defenders of the Cross ridiculous in the eyes of a rude and warlike population. Their rapacity, however, was sufficient to throw the whole country into the wildest confusion. Coloman, perceiving the danger, took the field with some thousands of his best squadrons, who had little scruple in trampling under foot the sacred goat and goose with their deluded followers. Yet victory was not so easily to be won over these undisciplined but enraged and innumerable masses. Though frequently successful in turning a crowd of pilgrims into a heap of slain, the king was yet on many occasions kept at bay, forced to take shelter within the walls of fortresses, and often necessitated to draw strength from despair. But his activity and bravery at last triumphed over every difficulty, and Hungary was rescued from being parcelled out and taken possession of by these foreign adventurers.

In the year 1099 Coloman carried his arms into Croatia, which rose against the rule of his brother Almos; and after having reduced the population to obedience, marched to the extreme sea-coast of Dalmatia, some parts of which were subject to the rule of Venice. The possession of these parts of Dalmatia involved Hungary in a war with the Venetian republic, which, as will be afterwards seen, continued, with short intermissions, down to the end of the fourteenth century.

An event of great promise was the alliance of Coloman with the Norman conqueror, Roger, king of Sicily; the Hungarian king taking for his wife Bussilla, the daughter of the Neapolitan king. But the

expectations raised by this alliance, which united two of the most warlike tribes of Europe, were soon disappointed both by the sudden death of the Norman princess and the extinction of the Norman rule in Italy. After an active and beneficent reign of nineteen years, Coloman died in 1114, in consequence of a fall from his horse. Under an exceedingly deformed exterior, Coloman concealed a strong and enlightened mind, and, though brought up for the church, proved an undaunted warrior and a skilful ruler. Versed in science, which procured him the surname of Learned, Coloman was a steady protector of learning and art, the ballad writer Garay truly singing of him, that "he held in one hand the sword against danger, and in the other a book for the mind."

The fame of this king is stained, however, according to the chroniclers, by his cruelty towards his brother Álmos and his son Bela, whose repeated disturbance of his reign he punished by putting out their eyes.

Coloman was succeeded on the throne by his son Stephen, who, after a short reign, was succeeded by Bela the Blind. The most important event of these reigns was the war with Venice about the possession of Dalmatia, and the annexation to the Hungarian crown of Rama, a part of Servia. In 1741, Geisa II. ascended the throne of St Stephen. His reign was marked by several important events. Having entirely reduced Transylvania, he invited many Saxons and Flemish into his kingdom, some of whom settled in the Banat, in the south of Hungary, and others in Transylvania.¹ In this principality the German

¹ The majority, and the more ancient inhabitants of this country, were called Petsingers. They were subdued by the

settlers received from the king a separate district, being, besides, exempted from many taxes and endowed with particular privileges, which rendered them independent of the viceroy, or *vaivod*, in regard to local affairs. Similar privileges were conferred by Geisa on the Szeklers, or Sicouli, who are said to be the descendants of the Huns. The Szeklers, whose duty was to guard the frontiers of the country, and who constituted the border militia, had their territory divided into districts or seats (*sedriæ*), and were divided into three ranks, the whole being ruled by one chief-judge, called *Comes Sicoulorum*. The following years of the twelfth century, filled up by the reigns of Stephen III., Bela III., and Emerick, are marked by the continuance of the Venetian war, but present no incidents deserving of particular notice.

More important was the reign of Andrew II., who ascended the throne in 1205. The first act of this king was the conquest of Lodomeria, or Halicz, a part of Gallicia formerly under the rule of a Russian prince. Not suspecting the troubles resulting from the extravagant power given by him to his wife, the daughter of the margrave of Istria, Andrew, by the advice of the Pope, set out with a large army to the Holy Land, nominating the Ban, called Banko, viceroy of Hungary. While the Hungarian king spent his time in Constantinople, and afterwards in operations round Mount Tabor, Hungary became a scene of violence and rapine, aggravated by the careless and unconstitutional administration of the queen's foreign favour-

Roman emperor Trajan, who called this province Dacia. These inhabitants, now called Wallachians, are said to owe their idiom, which is similar to the Latin and Italian, to their conquest by the Romans. See *Gebhardi Geschichte Siebenburgen*.

ites, as well as by the extortions committed by the oligarchy on their inferiors. Receiving no support from the king of Jerusalem, Andrew resolved on returning home. On his arrival in Hungary, he had the mortification of finding, in addition to a disaffected nobility, a rival to the throne in the person of his son Bela. As the complaints of the nobles became daily louder, and no secret was made of their determination to appeal to arms if no redress were afforded for the violences committed, and no new guarantees given for the future, the king resolved to confirm the privileges of the country by a new charter, called The Golden Bull. This took place in the year 1222. The chief provisions of this charter were as follows:—1st, That the states were henceforth to be annually convoked either under the presidency of the king or the palatine; 2d, That no nobleman was to be arrested without being previously tried and legally sentenced; 3d, That no contribution or tax was to be levied on the property of the nobles; 4th, That if called to military service beyond the frontiers of the country, they were to be paid by the king; 5th, That high offices should neither be made hereditary nor given to foreigners without the consent of the Diet. The most important point, however, was article 31st, which conferred on the nobles the right of appealing to arms in case of any violation of the laws by the crown. Other provisions contained in this charter refer to the exemption of the lower clergy from the payment of taxes and tolls, and to the determination of the tithes to be paid by the cultivators of the soil. This charter, as may be seen, is almost coeval with, and in its tenure very similar to, the Magna Charta of the barons of England; though the benefits of the latter were in

England soon enjoyed by the great majority of the people; while in Hungary the Golden Bull remained, down to a very recent date, the exclusive inheritance of the nobles. The cause of this difference may be found in the subsequent events of the history of both countries. In England the commons rose to a degree of importance, in consequence of the development of industry and commerce, which could not have taken place in Hungary, a prey to incessant wars both from the east and the west.

Andrew died soon after the promulgation of the charter, and was succeeded by his son Bela IV. The beginning of this prince's reign was troubled with internal dissensions caused by the Cumans, who, after having been vanquished by St Ladislaus, settled in Hungary between the banks of the Theiss and Marosch. But a greater and quite unexpected danger, which threatened Hungary with utter destruction, arose from the invasion of the Tartars. Their leader Batu, after having laid waste Poland and Silesia, poured with his innumerable bands into the heart of Hungary. Internal dissensions facilitated the triumph of the foe, and the battle fought on the banks of the river Sajo (A. D. 1241) terminated in the total defeat of the Hungarians. The Tartar hordes spread with astonishing rapidity throughout the whole country, which in a few weeks was converted into a chaos of blood and flames. Not contented with wholesale massacre, the Tartar leader devised snares to destroy the lives of those who succeeded in making their escape into the recesses of the mountains and the depths of the forests. Among those who perished in the battle of Sajo was the Hungarian chancellor, who carried with him the seal of state. Batu having got possession of the seal,

caused a proclamation to be made in the name of the Hungarian king, to which he affixed the royal stamp. The proclamation was as follows:—"Do not be afraid of the bloody hounds, but return to your houses as soon as possible. For although we lost all our tents and our army by suffering ourselves to be surprised, we trust to regain all by the help of God. Confide therefore in God, that he may allow us to cut off the heads of our foes." Trusting to this appeal, the miserable people issued from their hiding-places, and returned to their homes. The cunning barbarian first caused them to do the work of harvest in order to supply his hordes with provisions, and then put them to an indiscriminate death.¹

The king Bela, in the meantime, succeeded in making his way through the Carpathian Mountains into Austria; but instead of receiving assistance from the arch-duke Frederick, he was retained as a prisoner. Having pledged three counties of Hungary to Frederick, Bela was allowed to depart, and took his way to Dalmatia, where a few troops rallied in hopes of making head against the Tartars, and preventing them from penetrating farther south. In the meantime Batu was as prompt in leaving Hungary, in consequence of the death of the Tartar khan, which occurrence rendered superfluous the preparations for war going on in Dalmatia. King Bela thus took his way back to Hungary, where all was desolation, and as the poet says—

"It was humbling to tread
O'er the weltering field of the tombless dead,

¹ These horrible massacres are described in his "*Carmen Miserabile*," by Roger, Bishop of Grosswardein, who was himself

And see worms of the earth and fowls of the air,
Beasts of the forests all gathering there ;
All regarding man as their prey,
All rejoicing in his decay."

Bela was succeeded on the throne by his son Stephen, in the year 1270, whose short reign is chiefly marked by his successful war against Ottoacer, king of Bohemia, the point of contention between these belligerent kings being the possession of Styria. Ladislaus IV. succeeded Stephen, and his reign was so far important as being connected with that of Rudolph, the founder of the Hapsburg dynasty. Having gained the imperial crown of Germany, Rudolph of Austria prepared to humiliate his rival Ottoacer, king of Bohemia,—this prince sending to do homage to an emperor, who, it is said, had formerly been his master of the horse. Both parties were soon ready for war, Rudolph having succeeded in gaining over the Hungarian king as his ally against Ottoacer, with whom Ladislaus had formerly concluded a peace. Ladislaus, accordingly, led in person an auxiliary army into Austria. Soon after, the two armies engaged at Lea, in the year 1275. Victory seemed to declare at first for Ottoacer, Rudolph being repeatedly in imminent danger of losing his life, when Ladislaus made a bold onset with his light horse, and at the very moment two of his men struck Ottoacer dead. Rudolph thus gained the day. Ladislaus returning to Hungary, caused his trophies to be hung on the steeples of the churches, as signs of his victory, which established the power afterwards to prove most destructive to the wel-

taken captive to the Tartar camp, and was among the few who at last escaped.

fare of Hungary. The reign of this prince, called the Cuman, was, besides, troubled by most devastating internal dissensions, caused by the Cumans, whose numbers were continually augmented by fresh arrivals both from their own tribe as well as from the Tartars. These internal wars soon reduced Hungary to the same abject condition to which it had been brought during the Tartar invasion. The Cumans, in conjunction with the Tartars, continued to ravage and burn everything that came in their way, and, as nearly all the beasts of burden were either carried off or destroyed, the people themselves were forced to drag the plough, and perform the other work usually done by these animals; whence the proverbial expression to this day, "The plough of Ladislaus."

Pope Nicholas III. was not slow to avail himself of the distressed state of the king in order to acquire uncontrolled jurisdiction over the Hungarian hierarchy, — a claim which has never been yielded by the kings of Hungary. A legate was accordingly sent to Hungary in 1279, whose ostensible object was the conversion of the Cumans, though by the synod of Buda, which met under his auspices, certain laws were enacted encroaching on the king's prerogative. One of these laws, for instance, forbade the king to levy taxes on church property in time of danger; farther, the prelates were exempted from all military service. This synod was, however, dissolved, and all its resolutions cancelled, with the exception of the enactment which declared the Archbishop of Gran (or Strygonia) primate of the kingdom.

Ladislaus, though a great protector of the Cumans, at last fell a victim to their fury in the year 1290. Immediately after his death, Andrew III. was called

to the throne, being the last Arpadian king of Hungary. This prince had to dispute his throne with Rudolph of Hapsburg, who coveted the crown of Hungary for his son Albert. The appearance, however, of the Hungarian troops before the gates of Vienna compelled the Austrian emperor to sue for peace, which was cemented by a family alliance, Andrew having espoused Agnes, daughter of Albert. The Austrian archduke soon availed himself of the Hungarian forces against his noble rival, Adolphus of Nassau, with whom he was disputing the crown of Germany. In the battle of Gelheim, near Worms, Adolphus lost both victory and life, when the Hungarian arms were for the second time seen to prop up the broken fortunes of the Hapsburgs. Nor did this matrimonial alliance with Austria secure peace to Hungary. Pope Nicholas IV. was bent upon gaining the crown of St Stephen for Charles Martel, son of Charles d'Anjou of Naples, who put forward his claims to the Hungarian crown in virtue of his mother, Mary, daughter of king Stephen V. While Andrew assembled the nobles on the plain of Racos, the majority of the clergy, headed by the Archbishop of Gran, held an assembly at Veszprim in favour of the papal pretender. Amid these troubles, chiefly brought about by the clergy, Charles Martel died, an occurrence which did not secure Andrew in the undisturbed possession of his throne, as the pope soon put forward a new candidate, in the person of Charles Robert, or Carobert, nephew to the king of Naples. In the meantime, the last of the Arpads died on the first day of the year 1301, from the effects, as is said, of poison.

Thus passed away the first period of Hungarian

history. As was the case in other countries, these three centuries present the picture of a barbarous state, with only two active and conflicting elements—the crown and the barons—the bulk of the people being alternately compelled to follow either the one or the other, always sharing their dangers without ever enjoying the fruits of their success. It must, however, be observed, that though there were at that time a large number of unprivileged classes spread over the country, subject to the uncontrolled will of the barons or landed proprietors, this circumstance did not result from a regular system of feudality, which developed itself in Hungary only in subsequent ages. Another difference observable in the Hungarian society of that time, is the exorbitant influence and power of the ecclesiastical order, which is rendered evident from the consideration of the circumstances under which Christianity was introduced. While in the rest of Europe the ecclesiastical order appeared in society as a component part of the elements already existing, it was called into life in Hungary simultaneously with the birth of royalty, and the beginning of quite a new state of things. St Stephen, assuming the regal title with the assistance of the see of Rome, first surrounded himself with the ecclesiastics, who, so to speak, became the lawgivers of the new society, and who consequently began to share the power with the crown ere the barons afterwards created attained political importance. No doubt the new organization of the country by St Stephen, as well as the introduction of European jurisprudence, were almost entirely owing to the ecclesiastical order as the sole interpreters of Latin lore. Nothing, however, of their knowledge found its way into society at large. A few of the nobles, indeed, made

26 STATE OF SOCIETY DURING FIRST PERIOD.

themselves soon acquainted with this dead idiom, the only vehicle of higher social intercourse; while the bulk of the people, without growing wiser by the teachings of the monks, remained in the condition in which they had been in the pre-Christian era. The vast influence of the clergy, as will be seen, continued but little diminished even to a very recent date, and was productive of many national disasters down to the end of the seventeenth century.

SECOND PERIOD.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REIGN OF THE
ANJOU DYNASTY, TO THE BATTLE OF WARNA
(1301-1444.)

THIS period, though far shorter than the preceding one, is no less crowded with events both of national glory and deep humiliation. The most striking circumstance, however, is the analogy subsisting between its beginning and its closing scene; papal influence was the means of giving to Hungary its first foreign king; and papal intrigue lost this country, a century and a half later, both its king and its honours.

The death of the last of the Arpads could not but prove favourable to Carobert of Naples, who had already undergone the ceremony of coronation in Croatia, before the decease of Andrew III. Pope Boniface the VIII. now employed all the means at his command in favour of the Anjou prince, who at last ascended the throne of St Stephen.

It will be observed in the course of this period, that after a fierce civil war, chiefly nourished by the claimants to the throne, Hungary rose to a degree of power superior to any of the states of Europe; that, in spite of the external grandeur, the internal state of the country remained stationary; farther, that after having sent its armies to the south of Italy and gained dominion over Poland, Hungary found herself all at once beset by all the plagues, arising from the rule of weak princes, selfish and feminine regencies, and listless, ambitious oligarchs. The most surprising circumstance, however, is to see Hungary soon after rise from amid all these miseries, and sustain, alone and unprepared, the shock of eastern conquerors, whose very name was sufficient to terrify the most distant parts of Europe.

The clergy, prompted by the see of Rome, and encouraged by a papal legate sent to Hungary, did their best to raise Carobert to the Hungarian throne. This very circumstance, however, incensed a large portion of the nobles, and they offered the crown of St Stephen to Wencelaus, son of the king of Bohemia, by virtue of his consort Elizabeth, daughter of the last Arpadian king. The Bohemian prince was accordingly crowned, when the pope, apprised of the fact, fulminated over Hungary his spiritual thunders, smiting with his ban both Wencelaus and his adherents. But this young prince, assisted by his father, advanced an army in reply to the weapons of Boniface, and marching on to Pesth, soon dispersed the Anjou faction. Hereupon the pope sought the assistance of the emperor Albert of Austria, who, jealous of the power of Bohemia, was ready to mingle in the fray. Albert accordingly marched an army

into Hungary in 1304; but before the campaign was over, Wencelaus, dispirited by the death of his father, and not confiding in his own power, made up his mind to resign the Hungarian crown. This, however, was far from bringing peace to the country. The hostile feeling to Carobert, originating in the fact of his being imposed upon the country by the pope, by which the nobles thought themselves humiliated, continually increased, till at length the states made an offer of the crown to Otho of Bavaria. This prince having entered Hungary in disguise, unsupported by any military force of his own, his position soon became hopeless; and the nobles, tired of the war with Albert of Austria, at last consented in the assembly held on the Racos plain in the year 1310, to acknowledge and crown Carobert king of Hungary.

The long reign of this first foreign prince proved, upon the whole, a time of peace. The passions of the turbulent nobles subsided, and the refined manners of the new court soon succeeded in reconciling and gaining the sympathy of the most ambitious spirits.

Next to some salutary changes introduced in the penal code, a new state of things was manifested by many regulations in behalf of commerce, which lent a certain stimulus to the towns. Not less worthy of remark is the fact, that Carobert was the first Hungarian king who introduced a gold currency, silver being up to that time the only precious metal used for coinage. Such measures undoubtedly tended both to raise the dormant resources of the country, and to awaken its indolent population.

The practical mind of Carobert was, however, chiefly manifested by the way he trafficked in order to pro-

30 ACCESSION OF LOUIS SURNAMED THE GREAT.

cure crowns for his children. According to an agreement made between him and Robert king of Naples, his son Andrew IV. was to marry Joanna, granddaughter to the Neapolitan king, with the promise of Andrew succeeding to the throne of Naples. No less happy was Carobert in his intentions towards his other son Louis, who was promised the crown of Poland by Casimir, king of that country.

These facts formed the chief characteristics in Carobert's reign, during which time the clergy gained an influence and authority unprecedented in the history of Hungary. In the year 1342, Carobert died, being succeeded by his son Louis, surnamed the Great. This prince surpassed his father in statesmanship and energy, being of a temper as warlike as his father's was pacific. For the exhibition of his military talents a fine opportunity was presented by the perfidy which his brother Andrew experienced at Naples. Before his death, the Neapolitan king, causing his granddaughter Joanna to be crowned, purposely excluded her husband Andrew from receiving the royal unction, on the plea of his minority. Louis, the king of Hungary, soon took up the cause of his brother, remonstrating on the subject with the pope Clement VI., the real master of Naples, who at last acknowledged Andrew as king, the papal protection, however, having been obtained by the aid of a few thousand merks.

In the meantime, Andrew led Joanna his promised bride to the altar, with no suspicion of the tragic end that awaited him. Several courtiers, and especially Charles Durazzo, brother-in-law of Joanna, and who feigned a particular attachment to Andrew, conspired to put him out of the way. According to the plan

concerted by the conspirators, Andrew was invited to a hunting-party in the Terra di Lavora. After the day's sport was over, the party put up at the secluded convent of Aversa. There Andrew was hurriedly roused, and called out under some pretext, in the darkness of the night. Scarcely had he left his chamber, when he was assailed by a band of hired assassins. The young and vigorous prince, bravely resisting his assailants, cried for help, and succeeded in making his way to the door, which, however, he found barred from within; and thus, while Joanna and her attendants were sunk in real or pretended sleep, the unhappy prince was at last overpowered by his murderers, who completed their bloody task by suspending his body from the window of his chamber.

No sooner did Louis learn this frightful act, which inspired with horror almost all the princes of Europe, than he swore to avenge the cruel death of his brother. An army was levied ready for embarkation on the Adriatic coast, which he soon led in person into the heart of Italy, reaching the territory of Naples in 1348. After a small resistance by the Neapolitan troops, Louis' army, bearing on their standards a representation of the murdered Andrew, quickly rendered themselves masters of the whole kingdom, recalling to the memory of the inhabitants the bravery of the sons of Tancred. After some assurances given by the pope to submit Joanna to due investigation and impartial punishment, Louis returned to Hungary, leaving his troops under the command of the palatine Lazki, who became temporary governor of Naples. But having found himself imposed upon by Clement VI., the Hungarian king reappeared in Italy.

in 1350, when the cardinals sent by the pope succeeded in appeasing Louis with new promises, viz., that if Joanna should be found guilty, then Louis would have full right to dispose of the Neapolitan crown. The affairs of the country obliged Louis again to return to his realm, flattering himself with the prospect of Joanna's conviction, who all the while was staying at Avignon, hiding her crime under the chair of St Peter. The trial of the unfortunate queen was accordingly proceeded with; nor is it necessary to say that the judges found no great difficulty in acquitting her.¹ The plenipotentiary of the Hungarian king, the bishop of Wesprem, soon proved reconciled to the decision of the court of Rome; and the Hungarian garrisons accordingly surrendered the places they had occupied, to return to their country. But though indignant at the issue of this catastrophe, Louis forbore to avenge his brother by a new expedition. No less unfruitful in the end, though of quite a different nature, was his war with Venice. The causes of these hostilities were some towns on the coast of Dalmatia, and especially the towns of Jadra and Zard, which preferred the Hungarian rule, and which the Venetian republic would not relinquish. After having undergone repeated defeats and humiliations, Venice at last drew strength from despair, and the long protracted war ended for Hungary without resulting in its territorial aggrandisement.

Much more promising seemed to be the prospects in the north. According to his promise, Casimir,

¹ Almost all historians, Italian and Hungarian, pronounce Joanna an accomplice in her husband's murder. Hallam, however (*History of the Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 348), expresses strong reasons for doubt on that subject.

king of Poland, did recommend, before his death, Louis of Hungary to the love of his subjects. No sooner had the Polish throne become vacant, than the assembly of the nobles at Cracow determined to call Louis to occupy it. A deputation sent soon after to Hungary returned, bringing with them the Hungarian king, who was crowned by the Polish states in 1370. This event, as may be supposed, gave Hungary a preponderating power among the states of Europe, which the youthful and warlike king still further extended by rendering tributary the Prince of Moldavia, —thus spreading his sway, exclusive of Poland, from the shores of the Adriatic to the banks of the Pruth. This outward grandeur was, however, not destined for long duration. As his presence was required in Hungary, Louis abandoned the government of his new kingdom to the guidance of his mother Elizabeth, sister to Casimir, the late king of Poland. Her conduct, however, was not long in calling forth loud discontent, which soon broke out into open rebellion. Louis was preparing to quell the disturbances in Poland, when he suddenly died in 1382, having worn the Polish crown for twelve years. The reign of this prince, irrespective of the external grandeur Hungary then enjoyed, was, like that of his father, salutary, in consequence of its long duration. To please the pope, Louis carried his arms into Bosnia and the neighbouring provinces, in order to convert their inhabitants to the Roman Catholic creed, though he was far from allowing the clergy the influence they acquired during the reign of his father. This second Anjou king confirmed the Golden Bull, determined more distinctly the relation of the serfs to their masters, and, in order to foster the industry of the towns,

he exempted many of them from paying taxes. Louis deserves no less credit for the establishment of some higher schools, the most noted of which were Funf-Kirchen and Gross-Vardein.

Immediately on the death of Louis, his daughter Mary was crowned queen of Hungary, being the first female who wore the crown of St Stephen. As Mary was still in her minority, the regency was entrusted to her mother Elizabeth, a circumstance productive of many misfortunes. The queen-regent, at once ambitious and jealous of the fortune of her daughter, attempted to gain unbounded sway over the country, a scheme in which she was assisted by the palatine Gara. In the meantime, Croatia and Dalmatia rose in open rebellion, calling to the Hungarian throne Charles Durazza of Naples, son of the unfortunate Andrew. In the midst of these troubles, Mary was married to the margrave Sigismund of Brandenburg, son of Charles IV., emperor of Germany and king of Bohemia, who repaired to Bohemia to organise auxiliary troops. While Sigismund idled away his time in Bohemia, Charles of Naples made his way, at the head of an army, to Buda and Pesth, to the great consternation of the young queen and her mother. Charles was, in the meantime, proclaimed king by his party, on which occasion Elizabeth, while secretly harbouring the darkest enmity, conveyed to him her warm congratulations. Having come to the resolution of destroying so dangerous a rival, Elizabeth, accompanied by the palatine Gara and Blasius Forgach, waited upon the king in his castle of Buda; and while Charles, unsuspecting of evil, was occupied in amusing his guests, Forgach, at a signal given by the palatine, drew his sword and inflicted a blow upon the king,

from the effects of which he died a few days afterwards. Having accomplished this act of wickedness, Elizabeth and Mary resolved to make a progress through Croatia and Dalmatia, hoping by their presence to awe into obedience the partizans of the slain prince. But no sooner did they enter these provinces in the company of the palatine and Forgach, than they were surprised by a body of troops led by the Ban Horvathy. The palatine and Forgach were, after a desperate resistance, hewn to pieces, while the young queen and her mother were thrown into prison. The latter did not long survive this reverse of fortune : some allege that she died of grief a few days after her imprisonment, while, according to another version, she was drowned by command of the governor of Dalmatia.

Sigismund, who, during these disastrous occurrences, was spending his time in Bohemia, at last awoke from his reveries on learning the unfortunate fate of his consort, and arrived in Buda at the head of an army, intending to march into Croatia. To give more effect to his measures, the states agreed upon proclaiming him king of Hungary ; and he was accordingly crowned in 1387. Proceeding at once to Croatia, he encountered and defeated the troops of the Ban, and rescued his queen, who was imprisoned in the fort of Novigrad, in Dalmatia, with the assistance of the Venetian admiral Barbadico, who took this fort from the partizans of the Neapolitan prince. The joy manifested throughout the whole country at the liberation of Mary was soon followed by calamities of a new nature, occasioned by the irruptions of the Turks. Bajazet I., the fourth emperor of the Turks, having subdued Asia Minor, began now to approach the Danube ; after crossing which, he invaded Moldavia and Wallachia, provinces

36 BAJAZET I. INVADES MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA.

under the sway of Hungary. The sense of danger soon aroused a numerous army, with which Sigismund marched against the invaders, whom he defeated and compelled to retrace their steps into Asia. But before his return home after this victory, his wife Mary died without issue,—a circumstance which prompted Wladislaus, the Jagello-king of Poland and husband of Hedwig, sister of Mary, to make an attempt on the Hungarian crown. From this difficulty Sigismund was relieved by John Thanisa, archbishop of Gran, who, appearing with a large force on the northern frontiers, prevented the invasion of the Polish king. Returning home from his expedition, Sigismund proceeded to inflict severe punishment on all who were suspected of having been the adherents either of Charles of Naples or of Wladislaus, causing thirty-two nobles, led by an eminent warrior of the name of Kont, to be put to death, after having induced them by fair promises to come to Buda.

Public discontent meanwhile continued daily to increase, though repressed for a while by the imminent danger from the re-appearance of the Turks on the frontiers. Having received a promise of subsidies from the Greek emperor Manuel, and strengthened by a body of French volunteers headed by the Count of Nevers, the king determined upon marching against the invaders. Entering Bulgaria, Sigismund prepared to lay siege to Nicopolis, which was garrisoned by the Turks. But before the siege had properly begun, Bajazet, then at Brussa, gathered together his Asiatic forces, and suddenly appeared within sight of the Christian camp. The two armies quickly engaged, and the fierce battle, which at first seemed favourable to the Christians, ended in a most signal victory for

the followers of the Prophet (1395). This defeat, which cost the Christians more than twenty thousand men, has sometimes been attributed to the impatience of the French auxiliaries. Sigismund escaped alive, and succeeded in making his way to Constantinople, intending to proceed to Italy and to return by way of the Adriatic to his own kingdom. But while he was roaming on the waters, the rumour of his having perished in the battle (a report perhaps clandestinely circulated by his adversaries) soon spread throughout the whole country; and, in consequence, Ladislaus of Naples, son of the unfortunate Charles, was called to the Hungarian throne. Scarcely, however, had this prince arrived in Dalmatia, when Sigismund himself appeared in his kingdom. He soon succeeded in defeating the party of the Neapolitan prince, who afterwards returned to Italy. Not satisfied with having driven his rival out of the country, and crushed his adherents, Sigismund continued most rigorously to punish all those whom he suspected of being unfavourable to his cause. This severity gave rise to a new plot, comprising the archbishop of Gran and some other of the high nobles, which ended in the capture of Sigismund. After four months' captivity, however, he was released, chiefly by the efforts of Count Cilly, a powerful oligarch, whose daughter Barbara he afterwards married. After these vicissitudes of fortune, Sigismund continued to rule amidst circumstances of comparative peace, until he was elected emperor of Germany in 1410, an event which, though seemingly highly auspicious, proved most fatal to Hungary. Thenceforth, Sigismund, as emperor, shewed little concern for the interests of Hungary, which was continually harassed, on the one hand, by the irruptions

of the Turks, and, on the other, by Venice, which tried to wrest the sea-coast of Dalmatia from the Hungarian crown. New discontents, accordingly, soon manifested themselves against Sigismund, who still further exasperated the public mind by pawning the northern district of Hungary, called the Zips, to Wladislaus of Poland, in order to secure himself from trouble in that quarter. In the midst of these troubles, Sigismund succeeded to the crown of Bohemia, which had become vacant by the death of king Wenceslaus. This event proved a source of new disasters to Hungary. The inglorious war waged by Sigismund against the Hussites cost Hungary blood and treasures, while the Taborites, to avenge the atrocious death of Huss and other cruelties, repeatedly broke into Hungary, and marked their way with appalling devastation and slaughter, thus visiting on this nation the sins of its kings.

In 1437 Sigismund died, his inglorious and unfortunate reign, as will be seen, giving rise to new troubles and misfortunes. Sigismund left, by his second wife, a daughter named Elizabeth, who was married to Albert of Austria. The threatening state of the country suggested the necessity of having it ruled by a powerful and manly arm; in consequence of which, Albert, who soon succeeded to the crown of Germany and Bohemia, was elected by the Diet king of Hungary. This prince scarcely survived his coronation three years, and his sudden death plunged Hungary into a new sea of troubles. The queen-dowager Elizabeth was too weak to preside over the destinies of a country continually threatened by the Turks; and a party accordingly arose which attempted to call Wladislaus, king of Poland, to the Hungarian

throne.¹ A deputation was therefore despatched to Poland, inviting Wladislaus to accept the crown of Hungary (1340). But scarcely had the envoys returned, when Elizabeth was delivered of a son, known by the name of Ladislaus Posthumus. This event, as may well be supposed, was the cause of another civil war, fostered by the neighbouring powers. The queen, assisted from abroad by the emperor Frederick of Austria, and aided from within by the archbishop Sechy and Count Cilly, caused her infant, not yet six months old, to be crowned, carrying him afterwards, along with the crown of St Stephen, to Frederick of Austria. In the meantime, Wladislaus of Poland entered Hungary, and was crowned, with the consent of a Diet convoked for that purpose. A war thus commenced between Hungary and Frederick IV. of Austria, who took the part of Ladislaus Posthumus; but after the lapse of two years, Wladislaus and Frederick agreed to an armistice; the former more readily giving his consent, in order to be able to prosecute undisturbed a war against the Turks, who had already repeatedly felt the weight of the sword of John Hunyadi, vaivod of Transylvania. Encouraged by the Pope (Eugene IV.), the Greek emperor Palæologus, and the despot of Servia, Wladislaus took the field against the Turks, driving them repeatedly from Moldavia and Wallachia, and wresting Bulgaria from their hands. But though the Polish monarch was one of the most active and warlike princes, the palm of

¹ Some chroniclers say that Elizabeth, having convened the states, told them that the child in her womb was, as she believed, a daughter, and admonished them to look for a new king, able to defend the country, and that this portentous language induced the nobles to invite the Polish king.


these victories was chiefly due to Hunyadi, in whom Wladislaus found a powerful support against the adherents of the infant Hungarian prince. The most signal victory, however, gained over the Turks was the battle near Nissa, and the capture of that place, which cost the Turks many thousand men, besides several of their pashas, who fell into the hands of their victors, and were carried to Buda as the sure trophies of victory amidst the acclamations of the people. This capital was soon honoured with the presence of the ambassadors of the Christian princes, who came to congratulate the king on his victory over the infidels; while Amurath the sultan dispatched at the same time envoys, suing for peace, to Hunyadi, who lay encamped near the town of Szegedin. The request of the sultan was granted, and a treaty of peace for two years was concluded in 1344, its chief provisions being,—the evacuation of Bulgaria by the Turks—the surrender of all Christian prisoners—and the recognition of Wallachia as belonging to the Hungarian crown. The documents of this treaty were drawn up in the Latin and Turkish languages, each of the respective parties swearing strictly to observe it on the Gospel and the Koran. This salutary arrangement with a foe, whose utmost fury and overwhelming power Hungary was destined to feel for many centuries, was soon frustrated by the intrigues of the see of Rome, set on foot in Hungary by Cardinal Julien. “During the whole transaction” (of this peace), says the author of the *Decline and Fall*, “the cardinal legate observed a solemn silence, unwilling to approve and unable to oppose the consent of the king and people. But the diet was not dissolved before Julien was fortified by the welcome intelligence, that Anatolia was invaded

by the Caramanian and Thrace by the Greek emperor; that the fleets of Genoa, Venice, and Burgundy were masters of the Hellespont; and that the allies, informed of the victory, and ignorant of the treaty of Ladislaus, impatiently waited for the return of his victorious army. 'And is it thus,' exclaimed the cardinal, 'that you will desert their expectations and your own fortune? It is to them, to your God, and your fellow Christians that you have pledged your faith; and that prior obligation annihilates a rash and sacrilegious oath to the enemies of Christ. His vicar on earth is the Roman pontiff, without whose sanction you can neither promise nor perform. In his name I absolve your perjury, and sanctify your arms: follow my footsteps in the path of glory and salvation, and if still ye have scruples, devolve on my head the punishment of this sin!' This mischievous casuistry was seconded by his respectable character and the levity of popular assemblies. War was resolved on the same spot where peace had so lately been sworn, and in the execution of the treaty the Turks were assaulted by the Christians, to whom, with some reason, they might apply the epithet of infidels. Wladislaus soon determined to take the field, and, as some historians assert, against the will of John Hunyadi. After the passage of the Danube," continues Gibbon, "two roads might lead to Constantinople and the Hellespont; the one direct, abrupt and difficult, through the mountains of Haemus; the other, more tedious and secure, over a level country, and along the shores of the Euxine: in which their flanks, according to the Scythian discipline, might always be covered by a movable fortification of waggons. The latter was judiciously preferred; and their last station was at Warna, near the

seashore. It was on this fatal spot that, instead of finding a confederate fleet to second their operations, they were alarmed by the approach of Amurath himself, who had issued from his Magnesian solitude, and transported the forces of Asia to the defence of Europe. According to some writers, the Greek emperor had been awed or seduced to grant the passage of the Bosphorus; and an indelible stain of corruption is fixed on the Genoese, or the pope's nephew the Catholic admiral, whose mercenary connivance betrayed the guard of the Hellespont. From Adrianople the sultan advanced, by hasty marches, at the head of sixty thousand men; and when the cardinal and Hunyadi had taken a nearer survey of the number and order of the Turks, these ardent warriors proposed the tardy and impracticable measure of a retreat. The king alone was resolved to conquer or die; and his resolution had almost been crowned with a glorious and triumphant victory. The Turkish wings were broken on the first onset; but the advantage was fatal; and the rash victors, in the heat of the pursuit, were carried away far from the annoyance of the enemy, or the support of their friends. When Amurath beheld the flight of his squadrons, he despaired of his fortune and that of the empire. A veteran janizary seized his horse's bridle; and he had the magnanimity to pardon and reward the soldier who dared to perceive the terror, and arrest the flight of his sovereign. A copy of the treaty, a monument of Christian perfidy, had been displayed in the front of battle; and it is said, that the sultan in his distress, lifting his eyes and his hands to heaven, implored the protection of the God of Truth, and called on the prophet Jesus himself, to avenge the impious mockery of his name and religion.

With inferior numbers and disordered ranks, the king of Hungary rushed forwards, in the confidence of victory, till his career was stopped by the impenetrable phalanx of the janizaries. If we may credit the Ottoman annals, his horse was pierced by the javelin of Amurath: he fell among the spears of the infantry, and a Turkish soldier proclaimed with a loud voice, 'Hungarians, behold the head of your king!' The death of Wladislaus was the signal of their defeat. On his return from an intemperate pursuit, Hunyadi deplored his error and the public loss: he strove to rescue the royal body, till he was overwhelmed by the tumultuous crowd of the victors, and vanquished: and the last efforts of his courage were exerted to save the remnant of his Wallachian cavalry. Ten thousand Christians were slain in the disastrous battle of Warna. The loss of the Turks, more considerable in numbers, bore a smaller proportion to their total strength: yet the philosophic sultan was not ashamed to confess that his ruin must be the consequence of a second and similar victory. At his command, a column was erected on the spot where Wladislaus had fallen: but the modest inscription, instead of accusing the rashness, recorded the valour, and bewailed the misfortune of the Hungarian youth."¹

¹ The reader will observe here a slight mistake on the part of the historian. The *Hungarian youth* spoken of by Gibbon was *Wladislaus*, king of Poland, the infant Hungarian prince *Ladislaus* (*Posthumus*) being then in the hands of Frederick of Austria.



THIRD PERIOD.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REIGN OF THE
HUNYADIS TO THE BATTLE OF MOHACS (1444-1526.)

THE success at Warna, though not followed up by the Mohammedan conqueror, left Hungary in a state of almost entire helplessness. Of the two rival kings who had hitherto exhausted the strength of the country, one lay dead on the field of battle, while the other, Ladislaus, son of Albert, was in the hands of the emperor Frederick, who, under the pretext of the minority of his ward, aspired to the sovereignty himself. New factions thus arose, while different armed bands, reckless of the fate of the country, began the work of plunder and devastation. The Diet, however, met on the plain of Rakos, nominating JOHN HUNYADI *Governor* or *Protector* (1445). In the oath he took, Hunyadi promised to watch over the kingdom, to keep the laws himself, and not to allow their infringement by others;—great promises, indeed, at such a time,

but amply guaranteed and fulfilled by the probity and bravery of his virtuous spirit. On the paternal side Hunyadi is said to have been of Wallachian origin, inheriting from his mother's side the surname of Corvinus. To a like mixture of blood Hungary owes many of her heroes. His ruling passion was love of his country, the enemies of which deeply and often felt the weight of his natural rude sense of justice. Having restored order at home, the protector turned his arms against Frederick, who soon after felt compelled to declare Ladislaus of full age at his eighteenth year, besides restoring some portions of the country occupied by his garrisons. Feeling thus secure from the west, Hunyadi directed his efforts against the enemy of Christendom ; and not waiting for the assistance spoken of in the assemblies of Flanders and Germany, the protector suddenly passed the Danube, hoping to engage Amurath while battling with Skanderbeg. Spies, however, apprized the Grand Vizier of the advance of the Hungarians. Amurath thereupon withdrew from his former antagonist, and turned all his forces against Hunyadi, who, though taken by surprise, accepted battle at Rigomezo (Blackbird-plain) in Servia. The fight began at noon, and the slaughter was carried on during many hours between men equally brave and equally encouraged by hopes of victory. The squadrons forming the Hungarian centre, led on by Hunyadi, resisted the rolling masses of the janizaries that composed the main body of the enemy. The pashas of Anatolia and Roumelia fell with irresistible fury upon the left wing of the champions of the Cross, who, though repelled and driven from position to position, rallied again and again. The clash of arms and the roar of cannon continued throughout

the whole night, till the first beams of the rising sun illumined the plain where the Mussulman host lay carousing amid the slaughtered hosts of their Christian adversaries.¹ The greater part of the straggling forces of the Hungarians were cut off in their homeward retreat, as the despot of Servia, discouraged by the defeat of Hunyadi, hastened to acknowledge the supremacy of the Crescent, and turned his sword against his former confederates. The protector himself, in his lonely wanderings, well nigh fell into the hands of three Turkish horsemen. His dauntless courage and great physical strength saved him. Two of his pursuers, one after the other, were struck dead at his feet, while the third, satisfied with the golden cross which the protector wore on his breast, hastily took to flight.² The soul of Hungary was thus saved, and the peculiarity of Hunyadi's escape gave rise to the saying of certain chroniclers, that "John, who lived in Christ, was saved by the cross."

Restored to the nation, Hunyadi turned his arms against Giskra of Bohemia, who, aided by some Hungarian nobles, infested the Hungarian frontiers; while, on the other hand, he took care to have the vacant bishoprics filled by ecclesiastics well known for their patriotism, having courage enough, in spite of his rather bigoted feelings, boldly to assert the right of investiture against the See of Rome. Ladislaus, meanwhile, attained his majority, and was crowned king of Bohemia at Prague in 1452.

¹ The Ottoman force is said to have consisted of 150,000 men, the Hungarian of something more than 60,000. The loss of the latter was more than 15,000.

² The reader of Scottish history will here be reminded of King Robert the Bruce and the Brooch of Lorn.

After his coronation, Ladislaus, who was, in fact, nothing more than titular king, jealous and afraid of the power of Hunyadi, changed his title of protector to that of generalissimo; at the same time adding to the armorial bearings of that brave warrior a lion grasping a crown. Hunyadi, however, cared little for such distinctions as could be bestowed by the hands of impotent kings. Taciturn and enthusiastic, he brooded over the future of his country, pondered over the eventualities of a new war, which he deemed unavoidable with Mahomet II, who was bound by a treaty of peace ending with the year 1453; and revolved schemes of defence against approaching danger. As the first provision of security, he set himself to the task of cementing and organizing the jarring political elements of the country; awing into obedience the most tumultuous assemblies with his rude but heart-stirring eloquence. No adversary dared openly obstruct his path, and no favourite could mislead his sound judgment. Sternness and increased severity began to mark all his measures, as if he anticipated the sudden downfall of the East. Nor was there time for temporizing. Constantinople fell, and no sooner had the Ottoman conqueror satiated his eyes with the sight of the trophies of the Greek emperors, than his followers had already subdued the greater part of Servia. There, not far from the Hungarian frontiers, Hunyadi fell upon Firsibeg, who commanded the Turkish van, routed his lines, and took him prisoner. Mahomet thereupon, instead of advancing, began to retreat; while Hunyadi, returning home crowned with laurels, narrowly escaped the homicidal designs of the Cillys and Garas, ambitious and unpatriotic heads of families, conspicuous for their hatred and envy of the

fortune of the great protector. Mahomet, however, did not forget this defeat. He prepared thereafter incessantly for the invasion of Hungary, determined to take, at whatever cost, the fortress of Belgrade, which, from its position on the banks of the Danube, formed the bulwark of the Hungarian frontier. The Mussulman tents soon covered the plains surrounding that stronghold, while the neighbouring eminences were everywhere occupied by their batteries, recently improved by European skill.

The general assault began in July. The Moslem artillery, after a cannonade of some days, boldly approached the walls of the fortress; and the janizaries, mingling the cry of "Allah" with the roar of the guns, forced their way in the midst of volleys of fire poured upon them from the ramparts, to the very gates. At this critical juncture, Hunyadi, scattering the long line of armed Turkish vessels that floated on the Danube, effected an entrance into the fortress at the head of an army, accompanied by the Franciscan friar Capistran, whose zeal had assembled together a promiscuous body of some thousand Crusaders. Mahomet, informed of the entry of Hunyadi, gave the order for a more deadly assault. The siege continued for more than a month. The Turks at length made their way to the ramparts over the bodies of the slain, which filled the ditches; the combat raged with intense fury, the besiegers and the besieged struggling grimly hand to hand, till at length the Mussulmans forced the passage of the drawbridge leading to the town. At once the houses were set on fire, and burning pitch and sulphur, mingling with the smoke of gunpowder (intentionally ignited by the despairing garrison), filled the streets with their choking

fumes. The Turks, confounded and almost suffocated, began to falter; those without the walls seeking refuge in retreat. Capistran, urged by his zeal rather than by military skill, pursued the infidels; the warriors of the cross were soon surrounded by their more numerous enemies; thousands of his undisciplined followers already strewed the field, when Hunyadi, perceiving the fatal extremity of his monkish comrade, sallied out to his assistance with the pith of his army, and, at the first onset, shattered the host of Mahomet, who, filled with dismay and fury, fled to the very gates of Adrianople. This was the most glorious martial feat of Hunyadi; and if Mahomet is immortalized by his capture of Constantinople, Hunyadi is no less so, by having repulsed the Ottoman conqueror from the walls of Belgrade (1456.)

Hunyadi survived his victory but a few weeks. He expired in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and, as some say, in the arms of his comrade Capistran. His two surviving sons were Ladislaus and Matthias. Instigated by the Cillys, the nominal king caused both of them to be imprisoned. Ladislaus was subsequently beheaded at Buda. Soon after, king Ladislaus himself died, after an idle and ignominious reign.

No sooner was the death of Ladislaus Posthumus made known, than Matthias, the second son of John Hunyadi, who was saved from the hands of Frederick by Podiebrad of Bohemia, was elected king (1458) by the assembly of Pesth. The election of the youthful Hunyadi was marked by the utmost enthusiasm in the capital; and the happy tidings were soon spread over the country by the incessant and merry ringing of church-bells. To the patriotism and the bravery he inherited from his father, Matthias added a taste for

letters and the capabilities of a statesman. He is represented as having been of the middle size, with curling hair and a ruddy complexion, while his eyes were black and fiery. Accomplished alike as a politician and a soldier, he united in himself the man of thought and of action; and while he holds the first place in the annals of Hungary as a practical and acute ruler, he is no less worthy of admiration for the success that crowned all his enterprises.

Two sovereigns, alike formidable, the one from his immense military resources, the other from his continual intrigues, conspired against this boy-king, and both alike were humiliated. Mahomet was compelled to sue for peace, while Frederick, driven from his throne, was reduced to beg his bread at the cabins of his oppressed subjects. Nor was this all. Matthias, in the midst of long-continued and bloody campaigns saw through and discomfited the fraudulent designs and counsels of a wily, intriguing pope, and the officiousness of his no less expert legate. In one of his dispatches to pope Sixtus IV., Castelli, the nuncio, says of Matthias: "Having deeply observed him, his talent, language, and manners, I have found that in subtlety and daring he excels without exception all the princes I ever knew."¹

The defence of the country chiefly engaged the attention of Matthias at the commencement of his reign. Measures of defence were accordingly carried on with the utmost speed, the most important of which was the establishment of regular cavalry; to levy

Et profecto contemplatus eundem, ejus ingenium, linguam, mores, astutiâ et audaciâ, principes omnes quos novi, nullo excepto, excellit.

which one man was enrolled out of every twenty families. This was the origin of the "Hussar," meaning in Hungarian, the price or due of twenty. Assisted by Szilagyi his uncle, Matthias marched his light horse to the frontiers, in order to check the progress of the Turks; when Frederick IV., gaining over some of the nobles, who were envious of the fortune of the Hunyadis, endeavoured to excite civil war; and having got possession of the crown of St Stephen through Elizabeth, wife of Albert, he indulged in the ceremony of a mock coronation at Neustadt. The diet of Pesth soon voted new supplies, expressing its devotion to the already-elected, but uncrowned, young king. Matthias, alive to the danger threatening from the East, was thus compelled to turn a part of his forces against Frederick; while the common foe acquired fresh force from day to day. After the conclusion of a momentary peace with the German emperor, Matthias all at once fell upon the Turks, who, after reducing Bosnia, had poured down upon the plains of Hungary, ravaging and burning as far as Temesvar (1463.) The young hussars, encouraged by the personal bravery of their equally youthful monarch, after a hard struggle, broke the Turkish lines. Matthias followed the flying enemy to Bosnia, and after a short but bloody siege, the stronghold, Jaieza, was reduced amidst the shouts of ten thousand Christian prisoners immured within its walls; Harambeg, the commander, falling a prisoner into the hands of Matthias. After this victory, Matthias returned to Buda, and thence proceeded to Weissenberg, when the ceremonies of his coronation were celebrated amid the unbounded joy of an enthusiastic population.

This ended the first decade (1458-1468) of Mat-

thias's reign, signalized by the repulse of the Turks, by a treaty of peace concluded with Frederick, and by the suppression of disorder in Wallachia and Moldavia.

Before proceeding to subsequent events which cast a shade on Matthias's fair fame, it may not be out of place first to bestow a glance on the internal workings of the Roman see in reference to Hungary, as these were the mainspring of the transactions we are about to refer to.

Matthias, bent upon breaking the Ottoman empire, and seeing himself impeded in his progress by the usurping measures and intrigues of the emperor Frederick, solicited the assistance of the pope, Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius); Cardinal Angelli was consequently sent to the court of Hungary. The epistles of the holy father to the legate, as well as those addressed to Frederick and Matthias, afford a sad proof of the moral degradation of the so-called vicegerent of Christ, at a time when the very existence of Christianity was in jeopardy. In letters bearing almost the same date, the pope addresses both Matthias and Frederick with the flattering epithet, "*Carissime in Christo fili*," assuring the former of his ardent prayers for his success, promising him the ban against his enemies, and, moreover, as a pledge of his fidelity, honouring him with a consecrated flag; while, on the other hand, Frederick is advised to urge his claims to the Hungarian crown according to his own judgment, which, as his holiness intimates, was always found correct. The pope, further excusing himself for the reception he gave to the envoys of Matthias, assures the emperor that the flag given to the Hungarian envoys was only for his own legate. Mean and pitiful hypocrisy! Matthias, ex-

posed all this time to the guns of the infidels, again and again called for the promised assistance. Instead of subsidies, however, the pope contented himself with sending epistles, rich in promises of everlasting life to the great champion of Christendom. Meantime Frederick caused himself to be crowned king of Hungary, receiving on the occasion jesuitical congratulations from the holy father, in the form of an admonition to fulfil his duty against the infidels as emperor and king of Hungary. This would in itself be sufficient to show the vile duplicity of this pope, mis-named *Pius*; but much additional cunning and double-dealing are to be found in the letters addressed to Angelli. The long tortuous periods dotted throughout with the word "*circumspection*" are more remarkable for what seems to be left out than for what is actually expressed; the whole being saturated with the subtlest diplomacy—if *fraud* may so be called. Matthias seems to have seen through this system of deep artifice and double-dealing; but thinking it better now and then to feign ignorance, merely reminded the pope of his promises. Pius, feeling on one occasion more than commonly alarmed, did actually transmit twenty thousand ducats to Angelli for the Hungarian king; having, however, heard in time of the retreat of the Turks, before Matthias had received the money, he speedily countermanded his orders.¹

Thus was Hungary rewarded for her incessant crusades: plundered by Mahomet, insulted by the German emperor, deceived by the pope, and left alone

¹ The whole of these epistles, forty-five in number, are to be found in Katona *Hist.* and Pray *Annales*. Majlath, in his history, censures the able historian Engel for calling these letters a monument of papal intrigue, admitting, however, that some-

amid the supine assemblages of Christian monarchs. The result of the congress of Mantua, purporting to have for its object the annihilation of the Ottoman empire, and continuing its deliberations for nearly a year, will best be seen by the following few words of Pius in his latter to Angelli:—" *Vox nostra quamquam et salutaris et pia, a paucis est exaudita, non credentur pericula quae sunt pericula, quae sunt ab oculis longius posita.*"

But to proceed. Feared by the Turks and beloved by his subjects, Matthias was bent upon adorning his court with arts and letters. His regal palace was soon enriched by the works of renowned sculptors, in addition to a library containing fifty thousand volumes, which were continually added to by valuable manuscripts, which he caused to be copied in the city of the Medici, as well as in other parts of Italy. In short, Buda enjoyed its golden age, glittering in the splendour of a chivalrous and joyous monarch, whose court was filled with foreign ambassadors and men of letters.¹ But suddenly the flame of war was kindled anew in this monarch's breast, by Pope

thing like it is to be found in the first ten epistles. It is a pity that Count Majlath, who is so awkward in his attack, did not undertake the defence of the whole number, being all equally in want of his advocacy.

¹ Among the foreign men of letters, especially Italians, called by Matthias to Buda, were Carbo, Naldi, Galeotti, the chief librarian, and Bonfin, the well-known historian and panegyrist of Matthias. Of the natives the most prominent was Janus Panonius (*alias* Cesinge), known as the best Greek and Latin scholar of his time; as well as Magyar Michaelis, a monk of the Pauline order. An academy of letters was also founded by Matthias, under the name of *Sodalitas Literaria Hungarorum*, with a branch in Transylvania called *Societas Septem-Castrensis*.

Paul II., successor to Pius. The remnants of the Hussites, the stern but peaceable Puritans of Bohemia, were those for whom the pope forgot Mahomet and his host, and for the extirpation of whom a crusade was preached. Podiebrad, the tolerant king of Bohemia, was to be chased away, and with his throne Paul tempted the ambition of Matthias. Circumstances were, so to speak, favourable to the papal scheme. The wife of Matthias, daughter of the Bohemian king, was just dead; while Matthias was, besides, actuated by a feeling of revenge, in consequence of the depredations which the Bohemian chief-tain Suhla had recently committed in Hungary. Puzzled whether war was to be carried on against the so-called "heretics" or the infidels, Matthias referred the matter to the Diet, when the majority, commanded by the archbishop, decided upon hostilities against the former. It is needless to narrate the sad details of this bloody war, which lasted for seven years, and ended in the acquisition by the Hungarian crown of Moravia and Silesia. Suffice it to say, that during the war the pope's legate Robacelli caused one act of cruelty to be succeeded by another still more cruel; but says the historian Sacy, "*plus de quarante mille Hussites furent massacrés, aucun ne fut pas converti.*"

Scarcely had Matthias returned from Bohemia, when he went to meet his old enemies the Turks; and while he himself triumphed on the frontiers of Servia, Stephen Batory, waivod of Transylvania, in company with the giant Kanisa (he is said to have been able to lift a large cask of wine in his arms), chased the Turks from the other part of the country. Tired of Frederick's continual plotting, Matthias made a final appeal to arms. The Hungarian army, flushed

with glory, rapidly took by assault most of the Austrian fortresses. After an obstinate resistance, Vienna shared a similar fate (1485), and the unfortunate emperor became a fugitive, begging his bread from village to village. With Austria at his feet, Matthias took up at times his residence in Vienna, dictating from thence laws to three kingdoms. This pinnacle of glory was, however, not destined to be maintained for any very lengthened period. The invincible conqueror was suddenly struck down by the still mightier king of terrors; and surprised by a fit of apoplexy, Matthias died in Vienna in 1490. Some attribute his death to poison.

A deep gloom and foreboding, arising from the "shadows cast before by coming events," spread over the whole land. The army, then one of the mightiest and best disciplined in Europe, lamented in their deceased monarch one as willing to dress the wounds of his comrades as to take the hand of flattering, obsequious ambassadors; and the people mourned the death of a king at once powerful and just, who, in the midst of his triumphs, knew how to observe the laws of his country himself, and how to enforce their observance upon others.

The Hunyadis, whom we have thus seen to shed glory over their country during nearly a century, passed away; and, however great their efforts and merits were, they still failed to raise Hungary, as a social commonwealth, to the level of some of the more advanced European states, and to infuse into her children that spirit of mental progress which, mitigating the tyrannic sway of mighty lords, and elevating the bulk of the people, might have rescued them from many a calamity in after times. The chief cause,

however, of the stagnant condition of Hungary, is to be found in the circumstance of her geographical position. The fifteenth century, which was for the civilisation of western Europe a period of preparation, became for Hungary a series of desperate struggles for life or death. The rest of Europe was seen to reap advantage and to increase in arts and letters by the very conquest of Mahomet; while Hungary, instead of being overrun by fugitive Greek philosophers, had to encounter the Mussulman host. Buda, with all its glitter and mental activity, stood on its rocky hills like a lonely star in the midst of a sky cloudy and red; and the people at large, sunk as it were into a state of mental torpor, were scarcely affected by the effusions of the minstrels and *joculatores* of their king. The various races of the population, which in other countries of a similar description were already fused in one indissoluble body, though equally sharing the dangers and victories of their ruler, still stood aloof and apart from each other. In short, Hungary at the end of the fifteenth century was yet without a living language and literature, which, as Michelet says, is "la conscience d'une nationalité, le peuple unifié en un homme."

The death of Matthias without a legitimate heir plunged the country into new disasters. Four candidates appeared at once to dispute with each other the crown of St Stephen:—John Corvinus, natural son of Matthias; Wladislaus II., king of Bohemia; Maximilian, archduke of Austria, son of Frederick IV.; and Albert of Poland. The money of the Bohemian king, however, gained for him many suffrages, and the Diet elevated Wladislaus to the vacant throne. This monarch's reign of twenty-five years is

filled up with intrigues and intestine dissensions, in addition to the emboldened incursions of the Turks as well as the fruitless irruptions of Maximilian. By a family contract made between that emperor and the Hungarian king (1506), it was agreed that Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, should marry Wladislaus' daughter Anne; while the Austrian archduchess Mary was promised to his son Louis, heir-presumptive to the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia. These smooth dynastic transactions were, however, soon interrupted by an event unparalleled in the former or subsequent history of Hungary.

Bakacs, archbishop of Hungary, was appointed cardinal by Leo X., and was entrusted to preach a general crusade against the Turks. Called to arms, and wrought up to a high degree of fanaticism, the Hungarian people crowded from all parts of the country beneath the standard of the Cross. George Dosa, by birth a Szekler, or Siculi (the name of the Magyar tribe settled in Transylvania), renowned for his martial feats against the Turks, was nominated to the command of that raging mass. The nobles, thus deprived of their industrious serfs, began to put in practice the most barbarous violence towards their refractory subjects. Roused to fury by these wrongs, Dosa having a large army at his disposal, vowed to avenge all grievances past and present, and to liberate the people from their state of serfdom. Disdaining the symbolical speeches of a Rienzi, with all the rudeness and valour of an ancient Roman, he proclaimed destruction to the patrician order; and, after reducing several strongholds of the nobles, this popular tribune, aided by two priests, Lorens and Barnabas, decreed the abolition of all privileges, political and ecclesiasti-

cal, as well as the division of landed property (1514). After some months of victory, however, the levellers and their chief sustained a defeat under the walls of Temesvar, being unexpectedly attacked by John Zapolya, vaivod of Transylvania. Dosa and many of his followers fell alive into the hands of their enemies, and met a dreadful fate. After two weeks' imprisonment, the tribune was taken from his dark cell and led to a throne of hot iron: on this he was made to sit with a red hot iron crown on his head. There he sat, his body half roasted, mute, immoveable, and majestic, like a marble statue.—The remaining horrors of this scene are too frightful for relation.

Thus terminated the last crusade of the popes in Hungary. Wladislaus II. died a year after (1516), being succeeded on the throne by his son Louis II., whose minority only served the more to encourage the passions of the corrupted nobility and haughty clergy. After the capture of Belgrade, Soliman, gathering together his vast army, poured into the heart of the country. The young king, instigated by the ambitious archbishop Tomary, decided upon giving battle near the town of Mohacs with an army scarcely amounting to 25,000, equal only to about a sixth part of the enemy's forces.

On the 29th of August 1526, a month in recent days so fatal to Hungary, the battle began. The Hungarians, led by mitred bishops, began the attack; the enemy, soon perceiving the absence of competent generals in their army, allowed them to advance very near, when they who imagined themselves sure of victory were suddenly hemmed in and indiscriminately slaughtered. Almost all the leaders, seven bishops, and the king, paid the penalty of their temerity with

their lives. Soliman then marched on as far as Buda, and, capturing on his march thousands of prisoners, took his way home. Such was the fate of the kingdom of Matthias, who on his death-bed recommended his natural son to the love of his subjects, warning them *never to elect a foreign prince.*

PART II.—1526-1850.



FIRST PERIOD.—1526-1618.

CHAPTER I.

THE APPEARANCE OF THE HAPSBURGS—JOHN ZAPOLYA—FERDINAND I.—SOLIMAN THE GREAT—SIGISMUND ZAPOLYA—MAXIMILIAN II. (1526-1576.)

THE battle of Mohacs, like that of Warna, left the Hungarian throne vacant; but the results of these two unfortunate engagements were quite different. No Hunyadis rose from the reeking ruins of 1526, and no deceptive crusades were any more heard preached against the enemies of Christendom. Hungary, exhausted and depopulated, was henceforward threatened from the west: despair made her turn to her once most bloody enemy, the Mussulman, who, with a feeling of noble pride, and prompted, at the same time, by selfish aims, hastened to her rescue. The slaughter once begun, continued, with little interval, for nearly two centuries; the work of devastation being at first carried on most recklessly both by the friendly hosts of the sultan, Soliman the Magnificent,

and the mercenaries of Ferdinand I., archduke of Austria, who was too eager to grasp at the Hungarian crown. It will be seen how to these raging elements was added a new source of discord,—the Reformation; how the latter struggled into life, and grew when all around it lay confused and lifeless; and, finally, how its persecuted followers found refuge under the banner of the Prophet.

No sooner was the corpse of Louis II. found lying in a marsh under his mangled steed, than the necessity of speedily electing a new monarch was powerfully felt. Louis left no heir to the throne, while his wife Maty, archduchess of Austria, far from trying to possess herself of the helm of the state, was already on her way to Vienna, even before the results of the battle of Mohacs had become fully known. The vacant throne found thus an aspirant in John Zapolya, waivod of Transylvania and count of the Zips, who lay encamped with a mighty army at Szegedin on his march to the plain of Mohacs, but the arrival of which the archbishop Tomary, then presiding over the war-council, had disdained to await. The Diet, which met on the plain of Rakos (1526), proclaimed Zapolya king. He found a valuable support in the Protonotary Verbötzy, the great juris-consult and compiler of the Hungarian laws. By his powerful oratory, depicting the many miseries Hungary had to undergo during the reign of foreign princes, as well as by his popularity, Verbötzy succeeded in gaining over to John's party many who formerly numbered among his adversaries. The day of coronation was soon fixed, the waivod receiving his royal unction at Weisenburg. Stephen Batory, the palatine, however, actuated by envy rather than ambition, first attempted to oppose to the new

king the interests of the widow of Louis II. But the Austrian archduchess, unwilling to enter the field as a competitor for the crown, handed over her *role* to her brother Ferdinand I. of Austria, who was married to Anne, sister of the late Hungarian king. Ferdinand soon repaired to Presburg, a town beyond the reach of Zapolya's arms, where he was elected king of Hungary by an aristocratic party, headed by the palatine Batory, Francis Batthany Ban of Croatia, and Nadasdy. The two rival kings, both disinclined to commence hostilities, the one from his consciousness of the vast resources of Ferdinand's brother Charles V., the other, from the paucity of his own means, listened to the suggestions of the king of Poland, who proposed a congress at Olmütz. This conference, in which Ferdinand was represented by his chancellor Harrach and Wideman, and king John by two Hungarian bishops, terminated, as might have been foreseen, with the beginning of a war. Zapolya, master of the whole country, except some parts beyond the Danube, and reassured by the Diet held at Buda, which readily voted a tenth part of the revenue for subsidies, remained, however, inactive and inapprehensive of a sudden attack, until he was all at once startled by the clash of the arms of Ferdinand marching on to the walls of Buda. Taken by surprise, with his troops half disbanded, Zapolya evacuated the capital, the Austrians under General Salm gaining two pitched battles, while the native king saw, with the turn of fortune, the number of his adherents dwindle down. Not able to make head against the foreign mercenaries of Ferdinand, Zapolya was soon obliged to confine himself to the northern frontiers, till he left the kingdom for Poland, there to solicit help and concert

measures for the renewal of the war (1528). Ferdinand, meanwhile, celebrated his second coronation at Weisenburg, the ceremony being performed by the same bishop who only about two years before had crowned Zapolya. Having distributed the offices of state among the obsequious aristocrats, Ferdinand left Buda, never to see it again. While the victorious party were yet in their first transports at the favours and titles lavished upon them by the foreign monarch, Zapolya sat brooding over schemes by which he might regain his throne, and relieve his country from his Hapsburg rival. Francis I., king of France, who, by his ambassador Rincon, had promised to assist Zapolya with a monthly subsidy of three thousand livres, as well as with the forces of the league he had formed against Charles V., was now loth to do for a fugitive what he intended for a king seated on his throne;¹ nor did the king of Poland evince any great inclination to espouse Zapolya's cause. Zapolya therefore turned to the mighty Soliman, the ancient foe of Hungary, entrusting his mission to Lasky, palatine of Leradia, in Poland. No sooner did Zapolya's envoy arrive at Constantinople, than he encountered there Weichselberg and Hobardansky, ambassadors of Ferdinand, engaged on a like errand with himself. The Ottoman conqueror, however, took the side of the unfortunate, and causing the envoys of Ferdinand to be thrown into prison, girded on his sword in the cause of Zapolya. "Tell your master," said Soliman to the unfortunate delegates of Austria,

¹ See Pray, *Historia Rerum Hungarice*, Pars. iii. p. 5; also Isfuanfy, *Historia Regni Hungarici*, from which we learn that Rincon was a Spaniard, who had passed from the service of Charles V. into that of Francis.

“that my army is ready, that having round my neck the keys of the fortresses I have formerly taken, I will march on to Mohacs. Let your master meet me there, and the battle will decide whether Hungary belongs to my liege John or to him. If he does not meet me on that plain, I will march on and look for him in Buda; and should I still not find him there, I will seek him in Vienna.” Zapolya, living all this while in poverty, began to put himself in communication with his party. In this undertaking he was assisted by the monk Martinussius, who, by means of his vocation, was enabled to pass again and again from Poland to Hungary, performing numerous missions, and preparing the people for the arrival of their fugitive king. By aid of the contributions sent from Hungary, Zapolya organized a small army, and crossed the frontiers. His army was soon swelled to thousands, and he had possessed himself of the greatest part of Upper, before Soliman began to pour down on Lower Hungary. The Turkish host, meanwhile, approached the Hungarian frontiers, marching on incessantly as far as Mohacs (1529). Here the conqueror of Rhodes halted, pitching his golden tent on the plain which three years before had been steeped with the blood of the Magyar prelates and their king. Four *agas* from Soliman’s camp, at the head of two divisions of janizaries, were dispatched to meet Zapolya, who hastened to pay his homage to his powerful protector, accompanied by the viziers Ibrahim and Kassim. Zapolya entered the tent, and there received fresh assurances of affection from Soliman, who testified his friendship for the Hungarian king by the present of a pair of costly Arabian steeds. Proclaiming to the people that his army was not come to conquer, but to assist their

elected native king, Soliman marched onwards, took Buda, Gran, and Raab, all of them shamelessly given up by Ferdinand's mercenaries, and moved on unopposed to the walls of Vienna. Ferdinand, in his distress, invoked the assistance of Germany; but his brother emperor, as well as the Diet of Spire, engrossed with Luther and his followers, no less infidels in their eyes than the Turkish host, were not forward to render their assistance. Vienna, however, though neglected by the German emperor, was momentarily saved by the advanced state of the season; for winter being at hand, the Turks, according to their usage at that season, took their way home. Here it may be observed, that this mode of campaigning was the main reason of the almost never-ending Turkish campaigns in Hungary.

Zapolya, having taken up his position in Buda, ruled over the greatest part of Hungary; while Croatia submitted to Ferdinand, owing to the bravery of Pekri, a Hungarian nobleman estranged from the cause of the native king. A useless war was thus for a while carried on between the two rival sovereigns, in the midst of which Buda had to sustain a heavy siege conducted by General Roggendorf; but the garrison, though reduced so far as to be obliged to eat horseflesh, succeeded in repelling and routing the Austrian besiegers (1530). Ferdinand, in part disappointed by his brother Charles V., tried to render himself master of Hungary by the aid of Soliman, using as his instrument for this purpose the grand vizier Ibrahim, a man of subtle character, easily won over by presents, and thus fitted for underhand dealing. Hieronymus and Schneper were the names of the envoys Ferdinand dispatched to Constantinople.

The speech they made to the sultan, which, it is said, was put into their mouth by Ibrahim, was in substance as follows :¹ "King Ferdinand holds all he has as thine, and looks on all that thou, his father, possessest as his. He was not aware that thou didst desire the possession of Hungary, else he would never have disputed it. To thee, his father, Ferdinand can only wish, with this thy possession, joy and health, knowing that thou mayest help him to this and other kingdoms." Soliman, who listened with some satisfaction to this obsequious address, delivered in the name of the brother of a monarch whose fame had spread into the deserts of Africa, condescended to permit his robe to be kissed by the envoys, and promised a long peace (1533). The war between Ferdinand and Zapolya continued, the pashas of Bosnia and Servia repeating their irruptions without any restraint, when the rival kings, wearied with ineffectual warfare, concluded a peace (1538), known by the name of the treaty of Grosswardein. Its chief provisions were as follows :—

1. Each of the parties was to remain in possession of those parts of the country he then occupied. In terms of this article, Zapolya retained Transylvania and the greater part of Hungary proper, while Ferdinand was master of Croatia and Slavonia, as well as of some countries bordering on the Austrian frontiers.
2. Ferdinand and Charles V. bound themselves to protect Zapolya if invaded or disturbed in the enjoyment of his possessions.
3. In case Ferdinand died without male issue, the whole kingdom should revert to Zapolya.
4. In the event of the pre-decease of Zapolya, Ferdinand was to be king of Hungary ; and

¹ Hammer, in his "History of the Ottoman Empire," vol. iii., gives a detailed account of this transaction.

in case of Zapolya's leaving a son, the latter was to receive possession of the district called the Zips, with the title of duke, and, moreover, he was to marry a daughter of Ferdinand. This peace, humiliating alike to both parties, and prompted undoubtedly in both by a feeling of uncertainty as to the final decision in the first place, as well as the ultimate success of Soliman, could not but lower the esteem of the national party for Zapolya, and call forth loud demonstrations of discontent. In addition to the natural instinct which bound the population to the native prince, the cause of Zapolya daily gained ground in consequence of the outrageous behaviour and rapaciousness of the foreign mercenaries of Ferdinand. All these favourable circumstances, however, gave way to a general feeling of exasperation caused by a treaty that was based on the dismemberment of the kingdom. That the never-despairing and ambitious Zapolya meant that step rather as a means of momentary repose, may safely be assumed; but the development of his schemes was arrested by the hand of death (1540), which removed the weary warrior from these scenes of blood, at the very moment when his ears were gladdened by the news that he had become the father of a son.

The name of John Zapolya has been handed down by some captious chroniclers, branded with infamy. It was he, they say, who invited and paved the way for the enemies of Christendom,—big phrases, indeed, but the hollowness of which is soon perceived in the very summary conviction they seem to imply. No landmark, no guide, was needed by the Ottoman hosts. The plains of Hungary were then a known, oft-trodden soil, familiar to the Turks equally by past defeats and more recent victories. Soliman wanted no encourage-

ment to march his troops into Europe, and more of Christian blood would likely have been shed had he fallen with equal fury on both Zapolya and Ferdinand in the midst of their impotent skirmishings.

In his epistles to Pope Clement VII.,¹ the Hungarian king complains of the usurpation of the Hapsburg, who, assisted by Spanish and Italian mercenaries, first began the work of slaughter, intimating, at the same time, that he would feel compelled to apply for help to Soliman, in order to counterbalance the aid which Ferdinand was receiving from his brother emperor. The See of Rome feigned horror at this alternative, forgetting that it had repeatedly availed itself of the arms of the Saracen infidels. With the subsequent events of Hungary before our eyes, it may safely be asserted, that the final success of Zapolya, who was mainly baffled by the ambition of some spiritual and temporal lords, actuated more by the flatteries and favours of a foreign court, as well as by envy, than by any feeling of justice, would have rescued that ill-fated land from the long chain of open and latent struggles which, after some interval of apparent content, manifested themselves in a more distinct form in the year 1848.²

Before proceeding further, a word may be said as to the state of the church in Hungary at that time. The seeds of the Reformation were transplanted into Hungary by the importation of some religious tracts into the country through the agency of certain merchants trading with Germany. Its progress, however, was chiefly owing to the sound sense of the people as

¹ See *Histoire des Revolutions de Hongrie*, livre i. A la Haye.

² It must at the same time be acknowledged that Zapolya was one of the most narrow-minded and least noble of usurpers.

well as the degenerate condition of the higher clergy, who mingled recklessly in political feuds and the business of bloody camps; for it is not to be imagined that either the study of ancient philosophy or anything like diligent Biblical research, could possibly be prevalent at that epoch in Hungary. Here, as elsewhere, persecution itself increased the number of adherents to the new faith; and at the death of Zapolya the number of the reformed was already such as to command respect. Amongst the chief and first propagators of the new creed may particularly be mentioned, Matthias Devvy, who disseminated Protestantism in the country of Zemplin, and John Honter, who, by his translations of many of Luther's works, was the means of establishing the doctrines of the Reformation in Transylvania. In the latter country the centre of the movement lay in Hermanstadt, a town chiefly inhabited by German settlers. Thus did Protestantism secure to itself a firm footing, deriving, as it did, a powerful though negative support from its having overthrown the doctrine of the infallibility of the pope and that of celibacy,—dogmas always so repugnant to the natural sound sense of the Hungarian people. It is needless to say that the substitution in the church service of the native idiom instead of the dead Latin, could not fail also to be highly gratifying to the nation at large.¹

¹ See *Historia Diplomatica, de statu religionis evangelicae, in tres Periodos distincta*, anno Domini 1710. This book contains almost all the important acts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See also *Historia Ecclesiae Reformatae in Hungaria et Transylvania*. A Adolpho Lampe. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1728. This latter instructive book treats rather of the dogmatic part of the reformation.

Scarcely had the report of Zapolya's death reached Vienna than Ferdinand prepared to take possession of the whole country, according to the treaty above mentioned. A favourable feeling, however, quickly manifested itself towards Zapolya's new-born son Sigismund, who by the last will of his father was appointed his successor to the throne. Ferdinand appealed to the treaty, while the party of the infant prince urged that Zapolya, having been compelled by the force of circumstances to conclude the treaty of peace, had no right without the consent of the diet to dispose of the sovereignty of the country. The soul of that party was Martinussius, one of the most remarkable characters of that age. He was born in Croatia in 1482, of noble but impoverished parents. After his first years of poverty, George Martinussius entered the Pauline monastery at Buda, which he soon left for the costly palace of Hunyad, the parental heritage of John Corvinus, natural son to the great king Matthias. Several circumstances, however, induced him betimes to leave this place of comfort. The poor monk at last excited the compassion of the mother of John Zapolya, and in her family he took up his abode for a while; his domestic function being, like a vestal, to supply constant fuel to the fire. Tired of this life, he repaired in his monkish capacity to Poland, where he soon met with the fugitive Hungarian king. Having been used at first as a spy, George was afterwards nominated by Zapolya after his return to his country, Bishop of Grosswardein; and now we find him filling the office of tutor and guardian to the young Sigismund, in accordance with the last will of the deceased king. We shall subsequently see this monk in the character of regent, after his pupil Sigismund

had been proclaimed king; and we shall find him prove as valiant a warrior as he was a crafty politician. We shall see him impose upon his own party; thwart and then serve Ferdinand, who had created him Archbishop of Strigonia; dare to oppose Soliman in arms; gain a cardinal's hat from the pope; and finally, when apparently at the very pinnacle of his ambition, meet a most tragic end.

The queen dowager Isabella, wife of John Zapolya, to whom Ferdinand addressed his message, calling upon her to resign the kingdom into his hands, continued with her infant son in Buda, resisting the demands made. The Austrian general Roggendorf, however, soon appeared on the banks of the Danube, took Pesth with slight resistance, and then prepared his attack on the fortress. Before commencing the siege, Roggendorf tried to intimidate the queen into a surrender, when the monk-tutor Martinussius, addressing himself to the *parlementaire*, said,—“Tell your general that, though he may succeed in destroying some houses and injuring our ramparts, he will never be able to break the hearts that defend them; and should he enter through a breach, then, I, George, the monk, will be the first in my ranks to give him a due reception.” A tremendous cannonade soon began. The roar of the batteries, playing upon the fortress, troubled even the blue waves of the Danube, each day adding a new shock to the lofty walls; but George, encouraging the garrison by his activity and fiery harangues, repaired in the dead of night the gaps made in the ramparts during each preceding day, and forced the enemy, after a long siege, to seek refuge in flight (1541). Meanwhile both Isabella and Ferdinand dispatched their ambassadors to Constantinople.

Soliman, as might be expected, declared in favour of the young Zapolya, to whose name, out of respect for the memory of his father, he added that of John. Two Turkish armies were accordingly put in motion; one to Transylvania, the other towards the capital of Hungary. Soliman soon followed in person, made his entry into Buda, which he determined to keep permanently occupied during the minority of Sigismund; and assuring Isabella of his affection to the son of John, bade her retire with the child to Transylvania; a piece of advice which she followed not without some reluctance and distrust. Buda was thus henceforward governed by a pasha, the army of Ferdinand was ruined, and Soliman, under the title of an ally, became absolute lord of the country. Ferdinand soon sent envoys to Buda, offering Soliman the same tribute which Zapolya had paid, and intimating the advantages to be gained by the Porte by keeping on good terms with the German emperor. But Soliman, turning to the ambassadors, whose rich presents he deigned to receive, said,—“Tell your master who sent you here that he will have yet to give up even those small portions of the country he actually possesses.” According to the organization conceived by Soliman, Hungary was divided into twelve districts, (or *sandjaks*) comprising Pesth, Weisenburg, Gran, and almost the whole of Slavonia and Croatia. The whole was governed by the Beglerbeg of Buda, having under his command a sub-governor, intrusted with the distribution and collection of the taxes. Ferdinand, with the kingdom of Bohemia and the German empire at his back, did not blush to issue exacting ordinances to the Hungarians of his party (while he scarcely succeeded in keeping off the Turks from the gates of his

capital), imposing a yearly tribute of 30,000 ducats (1547.) In the year 1549, Ferdinand, representing to the German diet of Nuremberg the humiliation Germany must feel in consequence of his vassalage to the Porte, implored fresh subsidies, the result of which was two bodies of auxiliaries; one under the command of Joachim of Brandenburg; the other, at the head of which was Vitelli, sent by pope Paul III. These motley troops, consisting of Spaniards, Italians, Germans, and Bohemians, poured down from all sides into the country; only to be soon routed, and to mark their defeat with plunder and dastardly outrages committed on the impoverished and decimated inhabitants. Some native heroes, among whom was Dobo in the stronghold of Erlau, resisted bravely the Ottoman arms; but without any other ultimate result than to fall unassisted in their isolated positions, and to increase the fury of the Turks against the population.

While all this was taking place in Hungary Proper, new complications and difficulties arose in Transylvania, when Martinussius, who was confirmed by Soliman in his capacity of guardian to the young Sigismund and regent of that country, began to excite the suspicion of queen Isabella. Ferdinand, aware of these circumstances, marched an army into Transylvania, headed by Costaldo, who was instructed to gain over the monk-tutor. Acted upon and tortured by different factions, Isabella now turned to Ferdinand, and now implored the assistance of Soliman against Martinussius; but brother George defied these intrigues, and even succeeded in worsting the Turkish troops sent to her rescue. Costaldo, joined by Andrew Batory, awed the queen into obedience, and she at last consented to abdicate in favour of her son, who

was promised as an equivalent the duchies of Oppelen and Ratisbon in Silesia. Martinussius, on the other hand, already in possession of the archbishopric of Strigonia, received from Ferdinand the secret promise of a cardinal's hat (1551.) Soliman in the meantime overran the Banat; while Martinussius, now a cardinal, became all at once suspected by Ferdinand, and was hastening towards his tragic end. Costaldo, privately commissioned to put the cardinal out of the way, begged his eminence to allow him the honour of following him to his residence near Enyed; a request readily acceded to by the latter. Both, accordingly, repaired to the cardinal's country seat, and while George gave orders to prepare a meal for his guest, Costaldo concerted with his attendants the plan of his assassination. On the morning of the second day, Ferraro, in concert with the Marquis of Polavicia, entered the cardinal's study, under the pretext of receiving the signature of his eminence to a certain document. While Martinussius sat down, pen in hand, he was struck from behind with a dagger. Being but slightly hurt, he turned round and laid the assassin at his feet. Hearing the noise, the Spanish and Italian soldiers posted at the gate rushed into the apartment, dealing one deadly blow after another at the unfortunate cardinal, who all the while attempted to restrain the fury of the assassins by the calm reiteration of the words, "Quid est hoc, fratres?" till he fell lifeless at their feet (December 19, 1551.)¹ Such was the end of the monk George; wise in council, subtle in intrigue, brave in the field, overcoming uncommon difficulties

¹ See a detailed description of this murder in *Histoire du Minister Martinussius*, etc., livre vi. A Paris, 1715.

in moments of general embarrassment. But forgetting at the height of his fortune, his double duty of patriot and guardian, he fell a cruel victim to those for whom he bargained a kingdom. "This," says De Thou,¹ "was the end of a very great man; "great in peace and great in war, equalled by few in wisdom, which he made use of according to time and circumstances for the welfare and tranquillity of his country. Sparing the Turks, as far as his religion and sense of justice permitted, he excited envy by his very merit, thus becoming suspicious to Ferdinand. His riches urged on Costaldo to destroy him, while, as is asserted, the ministers of Ferdinand were bent upon getting rid of him, to whom their king had promised a pension of twenty-four thousand ducats. As a pretext for this heinous act, they proclaimed Martinussius guilty of a secret understanding with the infidels, which Ferdinand affected to believe. But far from gaining by an act that stamped his own name with eternal shame, Ferdinand was soon driven by the Turks from Transylvania, and lost even the places occupied by his troops in Hungary." The treachery of the Spanish auxiliaries of Ferdinand assisted the Turks to reduce the strongholds of lower Hungary.² Transylvania owned the sway of Sigismund Zapolya, while Ferdinand, in spite of the crown of the German empire, recently conferred upon him by his brother Charles V., was fain to preserve in Hungary some small districts, contiguous to his Austrian dominions. But not confiding in his avowed Hungarian party, the Austrian

¹ See *Histoire Universelle*. Tome ii., p. 21.

² Temesvar, gloriously defended by the Hungarian commander Losonzy (1551), fell by the mutiny and treachery of the Spaniards.

monarch entrusted his military operations to foreign generals, equally ignorant of the tactics of the Turks and the locality of the country. In fact, the acts of twenty diets, convened during the reign of that would-be king of Hungary, present a sad picture both of the impotence of Ferdinand and the reckless rapacity of his foreign troops. "His majesty, so runs the litany of the diet of 1559, "having repeatedly been informed of the evils his faithful Hungarians continually suffer, has promised speedy redress, which has made the states vote their subsidies and armies with particular facility and promptitude. But his faithful subjects, far from experiencing any redress, feel themselves burdened each day with new evils. Besides suffering from pillage, murder, and the incendiary acts of the Turks, the people are doomed to endure still more from your majesty's troops—(*Præcipua calamitas et miseria a gentibus suæ majestatis præcipue promanant.*) The commanders of some fortresses in the possession of your majesty do not only plunder all the adjacent estates, carrying away the crosses and property of the inhabitants, but add also insolence to their violence, and talk contemptuously of the people. The 'Status ac Ordines' therefore implore his majesty, to devise means how those who have been sent for help and defence should no further do the work of an enemy." In the year 1563, Ferdinand convoked his party at Presburg, a town lying near the Austrian frontier and beyond the reach of the Pasha of Buda-Pesth, recommending to them the election of his son Maximilian. But even in the hearts of this small fraction serious dissensions arose; some of them refusing to talk of an election before the redress of their grievances, while others seemed to be in favour of his

second son, also named Ferdinand. The party, however, which was headed by Oláh, Archbishop of Gran, Francis Batthyany, and Nicholas Zriny, prevailed; and Maximilian was accordingly elected. Ferdinand soon after died (1564), leaving three sons. Of these, Maximilian succeeded his father in Austria; Ferdinand inherited the Tyrol; and Charles, the youngest son, got possession of Styria.

Maximilian, who, in addition to his Austrian dominions, succeeded to the throne of Bohemia and to that of the German empire, proved as impotent in Hungary as his father had been. The pasha of Buda ruled the greater part of Hungary Proper; Sigismund Zapolya continued to maintain his authority in Transylvania; while the sultan, indignant at the irregular payment of the tribute stipulated by Ferdinand, caused Maximilian's ambassadors, lately sent to Constantinople, to be thrown into prison. His reign left Hungary much the same as it was under his predecessor, although much credit is due to the neutral line of conduct he observed in regard to religious affairs.¹ Unlike the rise and progress of the Reformation in the rest of Europe, religious reform in Hungary was rather an additional element in the political conflict than its originator; and if the Hungarian Reformation is devoid of the charm thrown over that movement in other countries, by the shining talents of some of its chief promoters, it derives a peculiar interest from the diversity of circumstances under which it grew. By

¹ Coxe, in the *History of the House of Austria*, vol. ii. p. 47, talks of Maximilian's reign in Hungary being visited by the scourge of war, and of his being provoked to commence offensive operations. This author seems to have been ignorant of the existence of pashas at that time in Hungary.

the battle of Mohacs, the Reformation was freed from a bigoted king and many persecuting prelates; while Ferdinand, conniving at the Protestant party in Germany, was withheld from persecuting it in Hungary, the more so from the dread that his rival might win the Protestant party to his interest. The Protestants thus increased in number amid the din of arms, gradually possessing themselves of abbeys and other ecclesiastical estates, which were either forsaken by their masters from fear, or rendered vacant by the vicissitudes of the general war. The seeds of the reformed creed shot up, accordingly, amid symptoms of general decay, increasing in an uncommon ratio under a most anomalous state,—the Turco-Hungarian-Hapsburg *regime*! The sectarian spirit, though somewhat later than elsewhere, found also its way into this land of blood, and Hungary was soon possessed of considerable bodies of Lutherans and Calvinists, besides a smaller number of Anabaptists and Socinians. In short, during the reign of Maximilian, Hungary numbered already more than a thousand Calvinistic communities, besides a considerable number of Lutherans. It is, however, to be observed, that Calvinism agreed more with the national genius of the gay-melancholy Magyar part of the population. After the final schism had been effected, Calvin's followers were mostly Magyars, while Lutheranism found its centre point in the German population of Transylvania; hence the peculiar denomination in the vernacular language of both these creeds to the present day; the former being called the Magyar creed, the latter the German. In Transylvania, however, the church underwent a more radical change. In that country, Unitarianism finding an active propagator in a man named Blandrata, as also a most

powerful protector in king Sigismund Zapolya, who was himself a disciple of Socinus, soon gained the upper hand. It would be improper here to pass over in silence the tolerant spirit of the zealous votaries of the Prophet, at a time when popery, under the name of Christianity, sent forth in its defence such apostles as the Granelles and the Alvas, and attempted to drown its adversaries in the blood of massacres like that of the Eve of St Bartholomew. While the unsteady and ever-changing tolerance of Maximilian in Germany and in his hereditary dominions, laid bare the false foundation on which it rested, the Mussulman governors in Hungary, with their watchword, "There is no God but God, and Mahomet is his prophet," looked down with a spirit of Oriental pride and magnanimity at the religious disputes of those who lay prostrate and broken under their arms. The pashas, though wanton in the extortion of taxes and provisions, referred the quarrels of Protestants and Catholics living in their districts to impartial tribunals, composed of Catholics and Protestants. The Gospel and the Koran were read in the same sanctuaries; the same walls that heard the name of Christ daily repeated, resounded with the name of *Allah*; and the churches became at last so crowded with the followers of the Prophet that some of the more sanguine Christians anticipated their speedy conversion.

But to return to Maximilian. Having succeeded in gaining the consent of both religious parties in Germany to new subsidies, the emperor caused new operations to be commenced against the pashalik of Buda and other Turkish districts; at the same time attacking king Sigismund in Transylvania. Soliman consequently decided to appear in person at the head

of a fresh army on the battle-field, vowing to punish the insolent rashness of the German monarch, and to restore Hungary to the possession of the young Zapolya. The energy and speed with which his vast preparations were carried on, appeared to justify the weight of Soliman's vow. The mighty conqueror, however, as will be seen, was arrested in the midst of his triumphant march, not by the motley and numerous troops voted by German diets, but by the Spartan-like bravery of a handful of Hungarians.

Soliman succeeded to the Ottoman throne in the year 1520, carried his triumphant arms into Syria and Egypt, quelled rebellion in Persia, and, in the midst of these enterprises, subjugated Servia, finally crowning his military exploits with the reduction of Rhodes. Courted alike by the Zapolyas and the Hapsburgs, he always adhered to the cause of the former, not scrupling, however, to accept of the presents and tribute of the latter, whom he deemed weak, impotent vassals, unworthy to rule the land of the brave. His friendly advice to Isabella and John Sigismund Zapolya, to abandon Buda to his vizier and repair to Transylvania, may fairly throw some suspicion on his professions of friendship to the young Hungarian king. Still the Ottoman conqueror deserves no small amount of credit for not having proclaimed himself unbounded lord of a country almost entirely in his hands; while he is entitled to just praise for enjoining on his viziers to permit full liberty to the people in the exercise of their different religious rites and ceremonies. Soliman was undoubtedly the most glorious of the Eastern conquerors, and it is with a feeling of regret, and almost pity, that one calls to mind the violent death he inflicted on his son Mustapha, thus staining a long

career of glory by a single act proceeding from a fit of fury.¹

This last expedition of Soliman in 1566 was particularly characterized by its magnificent display; the van, marching without halt from Constantinople to Belgrade, was accompanied by a band of poets, who encouraged the army with a recital of passages from the Koran, and who breathed the poetical prayer, that Soliman "might wave like the branches of a cypress in the wind of victory." After an interview with Sigismund Zapolya at Belgrade, Soliman moved onwards along the banks of the Drave, which he crossed by means of a drawbridge constructed on the spot, passing by the fortresses of Essek and Peterwardein, and halting near Fünf Kirchen, not far from the fortress of Szigeth, of which he resolved to make himself master. Szigeth, lying on the banks of a small river called the Almas, was surrounded by an old weakly fortified town, and a new suburb, the whole being defended rather by the surrounding marshes than by the strength of the ramparts. The garrison, consisting of three thousand Hungarian troops, was commanded by Nicholas Zriny, in the interest of Maximilian. The black flag, waving from the elevated walls, denoting the de-

¹ The Turkish annalists are not sparing in their praise of Soliman, and dwell much on the ominous number, 10—a number of much significance in the eyes of the Ottomans, and signally connected with the reign of that emperor. Soliman, they say, was born in the first year of the 10th century after the Hegira; was the 10th sultan of the Ottomans; the father of 10 children; surrounded by 10 mighty viziers; possessed of 10 learned jurists, and 10 renowned poets. Lastly, Soliman was the conqueror of 10 times 10 towns and fortresses. The names of the most celebrated of the ten poets were Baki, Tufuli, and Reweni.—*Hammer*, vol. iii. book 34.

termination of the garrison to fight for life or death, served only to inflame the military ardour of Soliman, who instructed the Beglerbeg of Anatolia to take the old town by assault. The rotten walls, shaken to their foundation by the batteries of the Turks, which were planted upon artificially raised mounds, were soon forsaken by the besieged and scaled by the janizaries. Zriny was thus reduced to the fortress itself and some rows of houses situated near the outside of the gates, called the new town. In the meantime, the Turks, after dividing the booty they had found within the forsaken walls, threw up entrenchments, trying to fill up the ditches running round the fortress, and repeating their assaults. Some days were thus spent, when, on the 9th of August, a general assault was ordered on the new town. The impetuosity of the Turks defied the equal bravery of the Christians. Zriny soon saw that the life of even ten of his adversaries was too dearly bought with the loss of one of his own men. The new town likewise was, therefore, abandoned; and by the 19th of August, the thinned garrison was confined to the narrow compass of the citadel. Zriny, with only six hundred men left, continued full of courage and hope, awaiting each hour the approach of the Austrian-German army, commanded by the generals Schwendi and Constaldo, and which was already lying encamped round Raab, at a few days' march from Szigeth, where it had been joined by Maximilian himself. Soliman, meantime, tried to gain the stronghold by means of offers and promises of the most flattering kind to Zriny. But as all these offers were disdainfully refused, the Turks began the assault with redoubled fury. The morasses round the ramparts were soon filled with the heaps of slain; the Mus-

sulman batteries and the fire of small arms enveloped the fortress in a thick red cloud for a whole week ; and notwithstanding the incessant work of death and destruction, the Turks were still repelled and foiled. Soliman, deeming his laurels of forty years withered by the obstinate resistance of this handful of men, called his viziers to his golden tent, menacing them with violent death if the keys of Szigeth were not in his hands in a few days. Seffedin, the best general that had escaped the long carnage of the siege, renewed the attack on the 2d of September. The janizaries, driven to despair, signalized themselves by the rashness of their assaults, scaling the walls amid the thickest cross fire directed by the garrison, and precipitating themselves headlong through the breaches made in the walls.

Two days were thus passed : the Turks determined to conquer ; Zriny and his small band still undaunted masters of the citadel. In the meantime, Soliman, who stood surveying the carnage from his tent, which was pitched on a neighbouring hill, already a prey to impatience and fury, was suddenly struck by a fit of apoplexy, and expired on the 4th of September.

Mohammed, his son-in-law, took care not to divulge the portentous event, but clothing the body of Soliman in his most costly robe, placed it in the midst of the tent on an arm chair, and issued in the name of the dead sultan new orders and severer threats. On the eighth day, the Turks forced their way close to the gate, spreading thick volumes of fire into the interior of the fortress. "Inextinguishable and choking flames," said Zriny to the few that were left him, "hasten us toward our final fate, and not the power of the enemy. Let us take it as the decree of God, on account of our

own sins, and those of our fathers. Yes, brave and faithful comrades, let us bear our fate with Christian fortitude, and now fight or die together as we have done for thirty-four days. I will go before to meet the enemy, twelve times more in thousands than we were in hundreds. Follow me; no surrender or defeat awaits them. We will die sword in hand. Brave brethren! up! do heartily what ye see me do." Thus saying, Zriny—who had exchanged his heavy armour for a coat of black velvet, a plumed black cap, and a light sword—moved on noiselessly towards the gate, followed by his band, but sixty in number, besides a few women and children. The gate was soon thrown open. The Turks, suspecting some snare, stood for a while aghast, while Zriny and his comrades marched on steadily to the serried lines, till the last man of them fell dead and trampled to the ground. Such was the death of Nicholas Zriny, a death as heroic as that of Leonidas, but clouded with the painful consideration, that Zriny met his in behalf of a monarch who remained with his army, feasting and plundering, only three days' march from the spot where the brave ones fell.¹ The grand vizier sent the head of Zriny to the

¹ Ranke gives rather too romantic a picture of the military character of Maximilian. According to this learned historian, that emperor was the right man to break the Ottoman power, and to fill the regions of Eastern Europe with the overplus of the German population, and thus fight out the great struggle against the hereditary foe, as insisted on by General Schwendi and the diets. Ranke then relates that the German army was more numerous than Zriny asked for; further, how bravely that hero died, and how Maximilian's vast army retraced its steps without having performed a single action, and without having so much as rightly seen the enemy. The reasons of this martial behaviour

camp of Maximilian, commanding the bearer to deliver with it this message—"Here is the head of him whom you, with hundreds and thousands collected around you, left to perish alone, and whose death is mourned by his adversaries." Having interred the remains of Zriny with due and exemplary solemnity, the Turks marched on, pouring precipitately over the other side of the Danube. The intrigues of Constantinople, in consequence of the death of Soliman, saved Maximilian from utter ruin, and he bought a new peace at the hands of Selim II., son of Soliman, for a tribute of 30,000 ducats (1567.) Shortly after, Maximilian was also relieved of his rival John Sigismund Zapolya, who died a sudden death. The diets, held in the small portion of Hungary, of which Maximilian was

the historian attributes, partly to the fatigues of the German troops, but chiefly to the suggestions of General Schwendi, who (*vide* "Travellers' Library," Ferdinand and Maximilian II., page 91, footnote) laid it down as a rule, that "the general hath to take heed, first, that he expose not his camp, that the enemy turn not his flank, and thus cut off his provisions, or harass his people with constant alarms and skirmishes, or wear them out, or keep them in terror, or throw them into disorder; for such is the practice of the Turkish warfare." It is a pity that Schwendi did not add, as a more safe expedient, the *necessity of having the camp defended by an imperial guard, or some Highland regiments*. Blucher, hearing the cannon-roar of Waterloo, seems to have forgotten or ignored the wise precepts of Schwendi, as quoted by Professor Ranke.

The defence of Szigeth found its bard in Nicholas Zriny, grandson of the hero, and the foremost Hungarian poet of the 17th century; it called forth a "strain of higher mood" from the German poet Körner, who wrought it up into a tragedy, some specimens of which will be found in *Blackwood's Magazine*, 1821, No. 42.

master, continued to vote subsidies for the renewal of energetic wars against the infidels, who, as will be seen, maintained their rule over Hungary long after the death of both Maximilian and Selim II. (1576.)

CHAPTER II.

BEGINNING OF RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION UNDER
RUDOLPH II.—RISE OF BOCSKAY—RELIGIOUS
LIBERTY SECURED BY THE TREATY OF VIENNA
—MATTHIAS.—(1576-1618.)

RUDOLPH II., the eldest son of Maximilian, was elected king of Hungary even before his father's death, and began his reign in the year 1576. Educated at the court of Spain, he brought with him to the throne all the learning and all the arts of dissimulation acquired from his Jesuitical tutors, along with a natural feeling of distrust in men and an aversion to action. Unwilling to take an active part in public affairs, Rudolph spent his days at Prague, absorbed in the study of alchemy and astrology, altogether forgetting the concerns of his government and the war which was being waged against the Turks in Hungary.

The successful resistance of the United Provinces against Philip II., as well as the progress of the Huguenots in France, led Rudolph to conceal for a while the hatred he bore to the Protestants, which, however, vented itself soon afterwards with double fury. This monarch's reign in Hungary may fairly be said to have been characterized by a total neglect and contempt of all the ancient laws of the country,

besides being calculated to excite horror by the religious persecutions which he most wantonly encouraged. The office of palatine, at that time rendered doubly necessary by the continued absence of the king, was purposely kept vacant; the Courts of Chancery and Administration were transferred to Vienna; while the Diets convoked by the sovereign were dissolved as soon as the required subsidies had been voted, no notice being taken of any measures regarding the general welfare of the country. In a word, foreign generals became the real masters of Hungary, sucking out, as it were, the very life-blood of the people, while, owing to the total absence of money, commerce was, during this baleful reign, reduced to the primeval system of barter.

The Hungarian noblemen Francis Nadasdy and Nicholas Palfy, after having succeeded on the emperor's side in resisting for a time Hassan, pasha of Bosnia, succumbed at length, after considerable losses in men and arms. When the intelligence of the successes of the Turks reached Rudolph in his Bohemian capital, he forthwith resorted to his accustomed expedient of ordering a double number of masses to be read in all the churches of the city, which, however, as may readily be imagined, did not much impede Hassan in his triumphant march. While the vizier took the fortified town of Veszprem, the pasha of Buda made diversions along the banks of the Danube, and the Turks were soon enabled to lay siege to Raab. After a bombardment of twenty days, the Austrian general Hardek surrendered; and the Turks thus established a new Ottoman district, with this town as its centre. Emboldened by rapid success, Osman Pasha turned his triumphant arms against Comorn; but he speedily

perceived the rashness of his attempt, and withdrew his janizaries from the impregnable walls of that fortress. With the approach of winter, a part of the Ottoman troops retraced their steps to Belgrade and Constantinople, soon to return, however, with increased numbers. Meanwhile the sultan, Amurath III., died, and was succeeded by Mohammed III., a circumstance to which the Austrian empire was indebted for a momentary relief. But no sooner had the new Ottoman ruler offered his first prayers in the mosque at Constantinople, than he proclaimed his determination to prosecute the war, and, with this view, began to pour fresh troops into Hungary. On the renewal of hostilities, however, the vizier Sanin, the ablest commander in the Turkish army, and who operated on Transylvania, received a check at the hands of Batory, ruler of that province, and Rudolph's ally. This favourable circumstance gave time to the Austrian army in Hungary Proper to blockade the Turks in Gran, a commanding position on the Danube which they had shortly before lost. The siege began under the command of the Prince of Mansfeld. The Turks bravely held out for a whole month; but suffering from want of provisions, at last surrendered upon terms agreed upon by the Hungarian generals. "The Turks," says the historian of the Ottoman empire, "had spared the antiquities and pictures of the place they had so long held; while the German soldiers no sooner entered it, than they barbarously mutilated and polluted all they found."

The fortune of war shortly after turned in favour of the Turks, who gained two signal victories at Erlau and Kerestes. Mohammed, on his return after these victories to Constantinople, was received with un-

bounded enthusiasm; the mosques resounded with thanksgivings; the streets were lit with bonfires, spreading volumes of perfumes; while the sultanas vied with each other in offering votive sacrifices of the finest bullocks. In the meanwhile, Palfy, the most conspicuous of the Hungarian generals, carried on his operations with such vigour, that Raab quickly fell into his hands; while the siege of Buda, simultaneously undertaken by the archduke Matthias, utterly failed in spite of the skill of the besiegers in general engineering and mining.

During the progress of these events, affairs in Transylvania became materially altered. Sigismund Batory, wearied alike of his sovereignty and of the friendship of Rudolph, abandoned Transylvania to his protector,¹ thus giving rise to new troubles in that country,—troubles which were soon followed by a desperate war, in consequence of the cruelties of the Austrian general Basta, and which reduced Transylvania, then, suffering under a famine, to a condition of the utmost conceivable misery. "All traces," says Coxe, "of human industry were swept away from its once fertile plains and fruitful hills; towns and villages offered nothing but the spectacle of ruin and desolation; corn was bought at the price of gold; horses, and even domestic animals, were used as food; and at length the people were driven to the tombs to seek a wretched sustenance from the putrid bodies of their

¹ The capricious Sigismund Batory was the cousin of Stephen Batory who abandoned Transylvania for the crown of Poland. Sigismund, to comply with the demands of the States, was obliged to decree the banishment of the Jesuits, with the exception of *Carigula*, his confessor, the author of all the troubles. See *Lampe*, p. 313.

fellow-creatures.”¹ Nor did Hungary Proper enjoy much brighter days at the period in question, though exempted from the scourge of famine. In fact, the acts of all the fifteen Diets held under Rudolph present nothing else but a long series of lamentations over never-ending miseries. “Your Majesty’s foreign auxiliaries,” say the states of the Diet of 1602, “take possession of towns, villages, country-seats, and other private properties, divide them among themselves, and, in addition, treat the natives as slaves on their own soil. Churches are broken open, tombs are searched, corpses disinterred and robbed of their funeral attire; women and young maidens carried away by force from their husbands and parents, and only restored in consideration of heavy ransoms, after having been brutally defiled. Hungary, once rich, brave, and strong, is now sunk into deep mourning, not so much because of the Turks and Tartars, whose rule, though bitter, is endurable, but on account of the unpunished licentiousness and extortions of your majesty’s auxiliaries.” Remembering that this language proceeded from the so-called Austrian party, a body numbering among its members many who owed their rank and titles of counts or magnates to the Hapsburgs, a fair estimate may be formed of the paternal rule of Rudolph, and his anxiety to free Hungary from the oppressive rule of the Ottomans!

Such lamentations on the part of the Hungarians did little to disturb the king in Prague. Unmindful of his duties as a monarch, Rudolph continued to enjoy his solitary existence, surrounded by lifeless pictures and astrological apparatus, carelessly listen-

¹ Coxe, vol. ii. p. 92.

ing to the explanations of the Danish astronomer Tycho, while the cares of government devolved on his favourites or mistresses. But secluded as Rudolph lived, and however much he avoided intercourse with men, the Jesuits at least had no need to put on the garb of grooms¹ in order to obtain access to him. Amid all his predilections for retirement, and in spite of his natural apathy, which was aggravated still more by horoscopic predictions that determined him to a life of celibacy, there still lived in his heart a flame of religious hatred, which caused the sluggish blood to boil in his veins, and made him long for the company of the Jesuit fathers. Probably misinformed as to the actual number of Protestants in Hungary, then comprising the majority of the people, Rudolph resolved on their extirpation, an attempt which he paid for by the loss of his crown.

After Erlau had been taken by the Turks, the bishopric of this district transferred its seat to Kashau, a town almost entirely Protestant. The bishops longed to wrest from the Protestants the magnificent churches of this town, even if this were accomplished only by force of arms; and General Belgioso accordingly received orders from Rudolph to root out the heretics. This general, in restoring the churches to the Roman Catholics, overran with his troops the neighbouring country, executing many of the Protestant ministers, and proclaiming death against all those who refused to renounce the reformed creed.² It was at this

¹ Strangers, and even ambassadors, who wished to meet the emperor, were, as is said, often obliged to disguise themselves as grooms, and await him in the stables, which he was in the habit of frequently visiting.

² Of the real mission and acts of this general, the writer of

juncture that Protestantism found a true and courageous defender in Stephen Bocskay, a nobleman of great fortune recently elected prince of Transylvania, whence he had expelled General Basta. Bocskay's entry into Hungary was the signal for a general rising, which was highly favoured by an unparalleled act of political tyranny perpetrated by Rudolph. This happened during the Diet of 1604. Rudolph insisted upon decreeing the banishment of the Protestant clergy; and as this proposition was opposed by the majority, the king dissolved the Diet, having, upon his own authority, inserted an additional article in the Dietal acts, which declared the demands and grievances of the Protestants to be idle, and confirmed all the laws favourable to the old and prejudicial to the new religion. This article, which for ever prohibited the bringing before the Diet the affairs of the Protestants, is well known by the name of the Twenty-second Article of Rudolph. The people, humiliated and on the brink of despair, greeted Bocskay with unbounded enthusiasm. He soon appeared at the

the *Historia Diplomatica* speaks thus: "Jacobus Barbianus, Comes de Belgiosa, quondam Romae Carthusianorum Praefectus, deinceps generalis militaris, qui ad hoc unice ab Imperatore missionem in Hungariam obtinuisse videbatur, non ut Turcarum vires, veluti pretendebat, infringeret; verum ut templa primum quidem Regiis civitatibus adimeret, et mox omnes evangelicos promiscue ad religionem Romano-Catholicam obtorto collo traheret." And again: ". . . ac ne quis eorum, vel copulandi sponso, vel sacra coena utendi gratia et civitate aliquo exire ausit, sub amissione vitae, honoris et substantiae, severissime interdixit.—*Historia Diplomatica*, p. 15. See De Thou's (*Histoire Universelle*, tome ix., p. 767) summary description of the grievances of the Bocskay party, which is calculated to convey a clearer idea of Rudolph's rule than all the dull prolixity of Pray and other Latin annalists.

head of an army before the walls of Kashau, shattered the forces of Belgioso, and delivered the town from his executioners. Called to play a most prominent part in a country whose institutions were overthrown, and whose inhabitants appeared to be in their last convulsions, the mighty leader soon gathered thousands to his standard, all of them goaded by innumerable wrongs, and composed chiefly of the so-called *Haiduks*, adherents of the new faith. The first step of Bocskay was to assemble a diet at Serencs, where the states, having proclaimed religious liberty, determined to chastise the Austrian emperor, and, if necessary, even to implore the help of the Turks. Bocskay soon dispatched his ambassadors to the sultan, Achmet I., who had just succeeded to the throne, and who proved ready to assist the Hungarian leader. As a token of his friendship, the sultan presented to Bocskay a flag, a sabre, and a crown, accompanying these presents with a letter, the substance of which runs thus: "Peace to the glorious Christian prince, to Bocskay, the possessor of might and fame, ruler of Transylvania and of Hungary. I promise, by the only God, by the soul of the Conqueror-Prophet, the sun of two worlds, by the pure souls of our ancestors, that, so long as you and your troops follow mine, so long as the Hungarian nobles and magnates shall be the friends of our friends and the enemies of our enemies, and so long as you do not molest the travellers and merchants of our invincible and glorious empire, but do treat them as in the days of the conqueror Soliman,—so long will none of your travelling people and other subjects be troubled or insulted by us. Should you, what God forbid, be molested by the claws of the wicked, then you may be sure of being

assisted with all our power, according to the conditions of our alliance. My high will is, that the crown of Hungary and sovereignty of Transylvania rest in you and your children, and after them, in those who may be the most beloved of the people. All the landholders of your country who live in my realm shall enjoy their liberty and remain exempted from taxes; and all those who may hereafter seek refuge in our dominions, shall never be disturbed in their habits and in the exercise of their religion, but fully enjoy our powerful protection.”¹

Bocskay soon after received a communication of similar import from the vizier Mohammed, the ablest Turkish general in Hungary. Bocskay, however, had self-possession enough to abstain from assuming the regal title, informing the assembled states that, though he accepted the crown sent by the sultan, he had no desire to place it on his head; farther, that they might look upon him as a simple patriot, who took up the sword to avenge the wrongs and recover the rights of the people, and not with the desire to become king. Rendering himself master of Upper Hungary, and leaving the Turks to reduce the fortresses lying on the Danube, Bocskay advanced rapidly towards the Austrian frontiers, some divisions of his troops pressing onwards as far as the walls of Vienna. The success of his arms, which was unvaried for two years, at last awoke the dreaming emperor from his slumbers of security, and made him solicitous to enter into negotiations for peace. The conferences adopted with this view were carried on by Ilyeshazy

¹ Hammer, vol. iv. p. 664, gives this document at full length.

on the part of Bocskay, and the bishop Forgach as the representative of Rudolph, and terminated in a treaty of peace, chiefly effected by the intercession of the archduke Matthias, Rudolph's brother. The more prominent features of this treaty are as follows: 1. It was provided that the Protestants should henceforth enjoy entire liberty of religion, being acknowledged as the adherents of a legitimately established creed; 2. That the palatine should be elected according to law, and the country governed by its constitutional authorities; 3. That estates fallen into the hands of foreigners might be ransomed by their original possessors; 4. That the king should never rule except in harmony with the laws and customs of the country; farther, that the towns should be restored to the enjoyment of their privileges, and the licence and exactions of the foreign troops restrained and punished. This treaty, signed in the year 1606, is known by the name of the Pacification of Vienna.¹ It will be seen that this compact was far from insuring liberty to Hungary, though it was no small triumph to extort such promises from a bigoted and obstinate monarch, living beyond the frontiers of the country. It may be observed that Bocskay, who felt some distrust as to the fulfilment of its provisions, found it necessary to have this treaty guaranteed by the states of Austria

¹ In the article referring to religion, it is said in conclusion, "Verum omnibus predictis statibus et ordinibus liber religionis ipsorum usus et exercitium permittetur: absque tamen praejudicio Catholicae Romanae religionis," etc. It will easily be understood that the bigoted bishops were not slow to avail themselves of this latter clause, in order to cover with some show of justice their persecutions against the Protestants. See *Historia Diplomatica*, p. 19.

and Bohemia; but, though guided by right motives, his contenting himself with the guarantee of provinces similarly oppressed, proves the shallowness of his political insight. It may, however, be assumed that he was hurried into this peace by the sudden death of the vizier Mohammed, who was his most devoted friend among the Turkish generals. Bocskay survived only a few days the treaty of peace he had concluded, his death, as was suspected, having been caused by poison. And if his short career prevented him from becoming for Hungary what William of Orange was for the liberties of the Netherlands, the Hungarians may still revere the memory of a hero, who, from under the ruins and ashes of his country, knew how to create a phalanx of warriors, at once enthusiastic and irresistible, and who, with a little more of ambition, might have produced results to be felt during many generations after his own day.¹

In consequence of the peace concluded with Bocskay, Rudolph was enabled to form a similar treaty with the sultan, to which the latter proved the more inclined, on account of a rebellion which spread from the remotest part of Persia to the very gates of Constantinople. The negotiations for this treaty took place at the mouth of the rivulet called Zsitva; whence it was named the treaty of Zsitva-Torok. Its provisions were as follows:—That each party was to remain undisturbed in the possessions it actually held; that the Porte was to receive from the emperor a sum of 300,000 ducats, and to renounce all pretensions to

¹ The life and deeds of this great leader were written by one called Csomakzy, but national negligence doomed the manuscript to feed the moth.

annual tribute; farther, that Rudolph should henceforth no more be styled the Vienna-king—an appellation sarcastically bestowed by the sultans on the emperors of Austria—but enjoy friendly and brotherly intercourse with the sultan, both of them looking upon each other respectively as father and son. All these treaties, however, failed to secure a happy end to Rudolph's reign. The ban of the empire pronounced on Aix-la-Chapelle,—the oppression of the Protestants in Austria and Bohemia;—while they rendered the emperor more odious, tended to excite the ambition of Matthias, his brother, who felt deeply offended with him. While Rudolph attempted to exclude Matthias from the succession to the imperial throne, by endeavouring to bring him into disrepute with the German Diet, the Protestant party in Germany scorned the machinations of the dark-minded monarch against his enlightened brother, who had already gained the confidence of the Protestants of Hungary. At the Diet of Presburg in the year 1608, Matthias, as viceroy of Hungary, laid bare before the states the faithless conduct of Rudolph, and petitioned for subsidies to carry war into the heart of Bohemia. An army being voted, Matthias accordingly marched on to the Bohemian capital, and soon awakened his phlegmatic brother from his sense of security. Forsaken by his subjects, and entirely hopeless, Rudolph delivered the crown of St Stephen into the hands of his triumphant rival, who brought this treasure back to Hungary amid the enthusiastic shouts of the people. Matthias was soon elected king, having, previous to his coronation, signed the following articles: 1. That the affairs of the country should rest solely with the constitutional offices and courts of the kingdom; and that

everything done in any other manner should be declared illegal and null ; 2. That the king should never govern but by the palatine and council of state, and that he should neither begin war nor bring foreign troops into Hungary and the parts annexed thereto without the consent of the states ; 3. That the Protestants should enjoy perfect liberty in the exercise of their religion ; 4. That in future the palatine should be elected by the diet from among four candidates—two Catholics and two Protestants—to be proposed by the king ; 5. That the king should reside in Hungary, and the crown be deposited in Presburg, and guarded by the two crown-keepers ; 6. That it should be unlawful for the Jesuits to acquire landed property. Matthias shortly afterwards acquired also the crown of Bohemia, the representatives of the states of which, arriving at Presburg, entered into a confederacy with the Hungarian diet for the mutual defence of their liberties.

Thus abandoned and derided by all his subjects, and haunted continually by superstitious fears of a violent death, Rudolph dragged out a dreary existence within the gloomy walls of his palace, and at length carried to the grave (1612) his deep sorrow for the double disappointment to which he was doomed in alchemy and in religion.

Thus passed by nearly a whole century over Hungary since its first connection with the Hapsburg dynasty,—a period marked more or less by a foul policy on the part of the reigning family,—a policy indifferent to the means by which it strove to compass its ends, and too impotent to command respect. True, the house of Austria found Hungary in a state of general consternation ; but its territory was at least free from foreign sway ; and it was only with the

reign of the monarchs of this house that military colonies of Mussulmans established themselves permanently in that kingdom. This circumstance is the more disgraceful to the long reign of Rudolph in particular, as the disappearance of the Zapolyas left him without a rival; and his impotence and tyranny can consequently be neither excused nor palliated. Unlike bold and ambitious princes, the Hapsburgs suffered the boundaries of Hungary, which they loudly pretended to protect, to shrink perceptibly from year to year,—thus rendering themselves contemptible in the eyes of the people, both by their obsequiousness to the sultans, and the cowardice and cruelty of their military leaders. In fact, the Austrian mercenaries were more dangerous to the country during the armistices in their winter quarters, than in time of actual hostilities. Such intervals of leisure they uniformly employed in making war upon the defenceless population, sapping to the very bottom the physical and mental qualities of a once self-relying, brave, and high-spirited people. To rapacity the foreign mercenaries added every imaginable insult to which the female sex is capable of being exposed. Rudolph, however, as has been seen, added to the other calamities religious persecution also; but the Hungarian Protestants, unlike the Huguenots of France or the Calvinists of the Netherlands, had no neighbouring country to flee to, or whence to expect help, unless from the sultan and his janizaries. This century, forming so bright an era for general European civilization, proved for Hungary a period of sad retrogression, with no signs of mental activity, and scarcely a muse to bewail her deep misfortunes. Nay, the very poetical productions of that time, as exemplified in the poetry of Tinodi,

Balassa, and Rimai, forcibly demonstrate the absence of anything like national buoyancy and vigour. The last mentioned, after having fought under Bocskay, subsequently joined Bethlen, whom he served in the quality of secretary. Finally, the more fully to characterize the state of society as modified by the Hapsburg rule, particular mention must be made of the following two features in their policy: 1st, The grant to many of the more influential Hungarian nobles of the titles of *count* and *baron*; and 2dly, The unscrupulous nomination of foreigners as peers of the Hungarian realm, — nominations practised by Rudolph (under the pretext that the Hungarian nobility was dying out!) by simple letters patent, and with an utter ignoring of the authority of the diet.

With Matthias an era of comparative happiness appeared to dawn upon benighted Hungary. But this brave and half-liberal monarch's reign was too short to be productive of lasting effects. Already advanced in years, and unmarried, Matthias soon lost with his activity of mind his liberality of principle, all his cares being directed to securing for his family the possession of his different kingdoms. As his brothers, Maximilian and Albert, had no issue, he made up his mind to appoint Ferdinand, archduke of Styria, his successor. The Protestants of Bohemia, though with gloomy forebodings, consented to the coronation of Ferdinand in 1616; this prince having, two years later, been also crowned king of Hungary, after having, at the special requisition of the diet, signed a regal diploma, in which he confirmed all the ancient laws, and particularly those enacted by his predecessor Matthias.

SECOND PERIOD—1618-1711.

CHAPTER III.

FERDINAND II.—BETHLEN GABOR—FERDINAND III.
—GEORGE RAKOCZY—FERDINAND IV.—(1618-1655.)

THE following century is strongly marked by the community of character subsisting between the struggles and interest of Hungary and those of the rest of Europe. The political aspect at that time tended to awaken the ambitious designs of the House of Austria, and particularly to call into action her long-cherished desire of extinguishing Protestantism in her dominions. The assassination of Henry IV., the great king of France, relieved Austria of all apprehensions from that quarter, while the bold policy of Elizabeth in favour of the Protestants was no longer to be feared from the cowardly and bigoted Stuart, who then occupied the throne of England. The favourable opportunity was thus seized. Ferdinand II., who inherited from Rudolph all his religious hatred without his dreamy temper, and who burned to accomplish on

the battle-field what that monarch thought to execute from his covered galleries, marked the commencement of his reign by venturing his jesuitical rage on the descendants of Huss and Zsiska. Forsaken by the Lutheran princes of Germany, the Bohemians, in virtue of the recent confederacy of Presburg, applied to Hungary, which, as will be seen, in spite of her Turkish colonies and Austrian mercenaries, boldly stepped forth in defence of Protestantism, acting in the beginning of that great religious war a part more or less similar to that taken subsequently by the two powers of the Baltic. The stimulus, as was the case in the days of Bocskay, came from the mountain-girt principality of Transylvania, whose present ruler was Bethlen Gabor (Gabriel), elected prince of Transylvania in the year 1613. It will be seen that the struggle, once begun, continued in Hungary long after the traces of the havoc caused by the Thirty Years' War had disappeared from the surface of the rest of Europe; that religious and civil liberty marched hand in hand; that a single cry raised by a noble national leader was sufficient to rouse and lead to victory a people kept in bondage, and almost entirely exhausted; farther, that the Hapsburg kings, never sparing in liberal assurances when distressed, turned oppressors whenever momentary danger had disappeared; finally, it will be seen how a nation, with a huge pile of ever-renewed privileges, was still doomed to oppression, condemned to lead a long vegetating life, despised and hated by their foreign rulers, and humiliated in their own eyes. But if the sameness of the events which follow, and fill up the whole of the seventeenth century, is not calculated to excite interest or amusement, it derives, on the other hand, no common

amount of importance from the naked awful truth which it embodies.

The first diet of Presburg of the year 1619, held under Ferdinand II., was yet sitting, full of joy at the profuse and solemn assurances of the new king, when the orders he issued for the demolition of the churches in Braunau and Klosterberg in Bohemia became the signal for the rise of the Bohemian Protestants. Their application to the Hungarian Diet was, however, at first entirely neglected at Presburg. This negligence was partly caused by some internal religious questions, referring to the *Unitarians*, not included in the treaty of peace of the year 1606, which had worn out the attention of the states, and especially by the artifices of the palatine Forgach. Ferdinand, in the meantime, tried covertly to do in Hungary what was already openly attempted in the rest of his states; viz., to extirpate the Protestants, according to his vow taken at Loretto. The work was begun by the Jesuits, the so-called janizaries of the see of Rome, their general being a Hungarian named Pazman. Peter Pazman was born at Gross-Vardein in the year 1517, and was brought up a Calvinist. At the age of fourteen he embraced the Catholic faith, and three years after became a Jesuit. Having subsequently occupied for some years the philosophical chair in the seminary of Gran, Pazman was sent as a missionary by the pope, for the purpose of converting the Hungarian Protestants. His talents and zeal were much commended by Ferdinand, and gradually raised him to the archbishopric of Gran, a dignity for which he renounced his monkish order, as the laws of the country excluded the monks from all ecclesiastical dignities. Versed in the scholastic philosophy, surpassing in controversial

skill his Protestant adversaries, Pazman became a mighty support of the jesuitical order; and by his vast means and fervour, as well as his unremitting activity, he soon succeeded in alienating many powerful families from the Protestant creed, and in propping up and consolidating the rotten remains of the Church of Rome. In the diets Pazman best understood how to vindicate the rights of his order; and whenever the question about the expulsion of the Jesuits was debated, he took his stand upon the laws of the country, arguing that, as the Jesuits were Hungarian nobles, their liberty was confirmed by the Golden Bull, and, therefore, that they were amenable to punishment only after a fair trial; farther, that even admitting that *some* Jesuits violated the laws of the country, that would furnish no sufficient ground for punishing the whole order. His book entitled *Kalauz* (Guide), written in a comparative brilliant Hungarian style, and noted for its lucid exposition of the controverted points, acquired for him additional fame. With the help of the revenues derived from the mineral districts, which Ferdinand placed at his disposal, as well as the workings of his secret coadjutors, the *short-robed* Jesuits, as they were called, Pazman ensnared the whole country; and already were heard the complaints of the Protestant subjects against their Catholic lords, many of whom were bishops. Those who could find no protection from the Crescent, fled to Transylvania, and thus determined the Protestant ruler of this principality to take the field, and make common cause with the Bohemians.

Having taken the field, and determined to join his interests with the Protestants of the rest of the Austrian empire, Bethlen marched into Hungary; and

after taking Kashau, he triumphantly crossed the mineral districts, being, besides, enabled to dispatch a body of 20,000 men, commanded by Count Redey, to join the Count of Thurn in Moravia. Having arrived before the walls of Presburg, the national leader was received with joy by the citizens, and soon gained possession of the citadel held by the palatine Forgach, who, in compliance with the will of Bethlen, convoked the diet, and delivered the crown into the hands of the victorious prince. With the crown and the insignia of the realm in his hands, Bethlen, meanwhile, moved on to the Austrian capital. Ferdinand's generals, Dampreire and Boucquoi, not daring to hazard an open battle, withdrew their forces within the walls of the city, which would undoubtedly have fallen into the power of Bethlen, had he not been obliged to retrace his steps in consequence of a defeat sustained at Kashau by his general Rakoczy, the commander of the reserve. The defeat of Rakoczy, it may be observed, was owing to the arms of the Tartars, whom Ferdinand invited to Hungary, and whose irruption no one anticipated.

The states assembled at Presburg soon manifested their gratitude and love to Bethlen, by proclaiming him king of Hungary, a title which he preferred to exchange for that of governor. Ferdinand, afraid of the increasing popularity and energetic measures of this prince soon favoured the diet with the presence of his ambassadors, the ostensible reasons of the mission being to mediate peace, but which, in reality, sought only for an armistice with the view of gaining time. Through his ambassadors Ferdinand pledged himself to preserve and guard the ancient laws of Hungary, promising, moreover, to confirm the liberties

more distinctly at a diet, soon to be convened at Neusohl. Bethlen, accordingly, agreed to a cessation of hostilities, which was thereupon concluded with the Austrian ambassadors.

Shortly afterwards, with the beginning of the year 1620, the Bohemians entirely renounced their allegiance to Ferdinand, who was hated in all his dominions, except in the Catholic Tyrol; and placed their crown on the head of Frederic, Elector palatine of the Pfalz. By means of this new king, the Bohemians flattered themselves with prospects of obtaining assistance from James I. of England, father-in-law to Frederic. Ferdinand, as might have been expected, redoubled his activity, though no less activity was displayed on the part of the confederate Protestants. A joint embassy of the states of Bohemia and Austria, represented by Kolln, Staremburg, and Engel, was soon dispatched to the Sultan Othman II., whom Bethlen likewise honoured with his own envoys. The divan seemed much moved with the description of the cruelties exercised by Ferdinand, who, as the Christian ambassadors intimated, got all imaginable assistance from the court of Spain and the see of Rome. The sultan soon declared for the Protestants, swearing in the presence of Ferdinand's ambassador, then in Constantinople, to afford all his aid to the oppressed.

This endeavour of the Protestants to insure the aid of the so-called infidels, which called forth the anathema of many a zealous inquisitor, and was condemned alike by shrewd diplomatists and by the phlegmatic Lutheran princes of Germany, would probably soon have solved the world-embarrassing problem, had various circumstances not contributed to destroy it in the very embryo of its existence. To have seen armed

Christian fanaticism, with its hordes of Jesuits and mitred servants, arrayed against the then emaciated lines of the long harassed defenders of the Reformation, backed by the turbaned leaders of the janizaries, would, it must be owned, have been a most singular event in history! A strange phenomenon, in truth it would have been, to have beheld the banner of the Prophet unfurled, and probably triumphant, for the doctrines of Luther and Calvin. But the struggle thus carried on would have been earnest and short, not beguiled, as it subsequently proved, by idle contests of changeable and ever-shifting actors, who, after having drenched Europe with blood for more than thirty years, ended the contest with a drawn game.

The solution of this European religious question, as was anticipated, however, found its first hindrance in James I., who, contemplating a Spanish marriage for his son, turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of his daughter, though to the general indignation of his nation. "The news of these events" (the coronation of Frederic in Bohemia), says Hume, "no sooner reached England than the whole kingdom was on fire to engage in the quarrel. Scarcely was the ardour greater with which all the states of Europe in former ages flew to rescue the Holy Land from the dominion of the infidels. The nation was as yet sincerely attached to the blood of their monarchs, and they considered their connection with the palatine, who married a daughter of England, as very close and intimate; and when they heard of Catholics carrying on wars and persecutions against Protestants, they thought their own interests deeply concerned, and regarded their neutrality as a base desertion of the cause of God and of his holy religion. In such a quarrel they

would gladly have marched to the opposite extremity of Europe, have plunged themselves into a chaos of German politics, and have expended all the blood and treasure of the nation, by maintaining a contest with the whole house of Austria." But James, not satisfied with giving no aid to his son-in-law, and with forbidding his being prayed for in the churches by the name of king, did his best to persuade the sultan from engaging in the Bohemian war. The mission of James to Constantinople was, as is known, entrusted to Sir Thomas Roe. As an additional reason for the Porte's not engaging in this war may be mentioned the dissension in the divan, which caused the sudden elevation of Mustapha instead of Othman.

Bethlen, confiding in the co-operation of the Bohemians, and unaware of the helplessness of Frederic, carried on with new vigour the organization of his army, which was daily increased by deserters from Ferdinand's camp. His engaging demeanour and chivalrous conduct, even towards his adversaries, gained for him the respect of the people; while his army, which amounted to nearly 100,000 men, clung with filial love to a commander who promised to revive the great days of the Hunyades. The states repeatedly pressed him to assume the regal dignity, but, though gratified by these spontaneous manifestations, and by no means unambitious, Bethlen resisted the temptation. Far more happy than the Protestants was Ferdinand in his attempt to gain an ally. Feeling secure on the side of England, he turned to France, and easily gained over Louis XIII., who, though jealous of the power of the House of Austria, readily joined the Catholic league. In accordance with his treaty made with Ferdinand, the French king dispatched the Duke

of Angouleme to Germany, who, after having brought about the Treaty of Ulm in 1620, repaired at the request of Ferdinand, to Presburg, to amuse the Hungarian states with proposals of peace. Having presented his credentials, the French ambassador was referred by the governor of Hungary to the liberal minded palatine Turzo and the chancellor Pechy, with whom negotiations were accordingly initiated. It soon appeared that the chief object in view of the smooth-tongued diplomatists was to divide the Protestant interest. Bethlen, however, disdained to abandon the cause of his confederates,¹ upon which the duke took his leave.

Meanwhile the palatinate was overrun by the Spanish troops headed by Spinola, while Thurn and the prince of Anhalt, not following the advice of Bethlen to avoid any serious engagement before their

¹ Le 12 d'Octobre, Bethlen Gabor donna dans son cabinet une seconde audience aux ambassadeurs, leur developpa les motifs pressans qui l'avaient porté à entreprendre cette guerre, et leur dit, entre autres choses, que l'empereur l'avait voulu depouiller de la Transylvanie, et même faire attenter à ses jours, que ce prince s'étant attiré la haine de toute la nation Hongroise, il avait cru devoir par raison de voisinage et par intérêt personnel, accepter la couronne, que les états de Hongrie lui avaient offerte; que toutefois il avait refusé un an entier, qu'on l'élu, et qu'à présent même, il en usait encore avec tant de modération, qu'il était disposé à negocier avec l'empereur par l'entremise de sa majesté très Chrétienne [meaning the French king] quoique on l'ait prévenu de sa partialité pour l'empereur: que pourtant d'après les paroles de paix que lui portaient les ambassadeurs, il consentait à prendre part à un traité pourvu qu'il fût général, c'est à dire, qu'on y admit les états de Hongrie, et de Bohémie, et de l'Electeur Palatin.—*Flassan's Histoire Generale, et Raisonnée De la Diplomatic Francaise*, vol. ii. p. 340.

junction with his troops, were repeatedly defeated by Maximilian of Bavaria.

The Bohemian king, destined to become immortalized by his exemplary negligence and helplessness, soon saw Prague, his capital, surrounded by the Austrian army, having only weakened and half disorganized forces, strengthened by a few thousand Hungarians, to oppose to them. While Maximilian, who superintended the siege, encouraged his army by feats of personal bravery, Frederick confined his exertions to idle discussions with the ambassador of his father-in-law, being scarcely aroused to a sense of danger by the loud murmurs of the people, reduced already to despair. Availing himself of a truce of eight hours granted by Maximilian, Frederick effected his secret retreat from Prague, thus easily abandoning his new subjects to the fury of a triumphant enemy. This reverse of fortune to the Bohemian made itself soon felt in Hungary. Szechy, one of Bethlen's ablest generals, along with a few other experienced soldiers, despairing of final success, soon left the national flag, and offered their services to Ferdinand. Elated with the victory of Prague, the emperor, on his own part, became open and sincere, boldly declaring in a manifesto that all his former confirmations of the laws and rights of Hungary were null. Nor could any weight have been attributed to the repeated oaths of a monarch who had vowed rather to beg his bread from village to village than yield to heretics. This step, however, of his sacred majesty was far from dispiriting the Hungarians. Bethlen, who confided in his military skill and the ready support of the people, continued to fill up the lines of his fiery combatants, and, as if willing to show Ferdinand his determined defi-

ance, assumed the regal title, amid the applauses of the whole nation.¹ Endowed with uncommon activity, Bethlen possessed likewise much patience. He, therefore, retreated slowly before the enemy as far as Kasha, there concentrating his forces and assuming the offensive. His first successful onset was against Palfy, now in the service of Ferdinand. He afterwards engaged at Neuhausel Boucquoi, who lost the day and his life. After this victory, Bethlen divided his army, the one part penetrating into Moravia, the other dashing on to the Austrian capital; a circumstance which made Ferdinand again desirous of peace. Disappointed in the assistance he expected from the Turks, Bethlen likewise desired an accommodation, in consequence of which a treaty of peace was signed at Nickolsburg (1621.) By the terms of this treaty, Ferdinand pledged himself to the strict observance of the ancient laws of the country, and particularly of the privileges of the Protestants, promising, besides, a general amnesty; while Bethlen renounced the regal title, and surrendered the crown to Ferdinand, who acknowledged the Transylvanian prince lord of seven Hungarian counties, and stipulated to him the possession of the duchies of Oppeln and Rattisbor in Silesia. It is needless to say, that neither the assurances in regard to the liberties of Hungary nor those points which referred to Bethlen's own interests were observed. Bethlen, who longed in vain to see himself installed in the possession of the Silesian duchies, was in addition induced to new action by the agonizing cry of the Bohemians, on whom Ferdinand was enabled more

¹ The coin struck at that time bore the inscription, "Bethlen electus rex. Hung. Dal. Croat. et Slav."

undisturbedly to wreak his fury in consequence of the late treaty. Joined by a body of the Turks, the Transylvanian prince took the field in the year 1623, to exhibit more vigour than in his first campaign. Many fortresses held by the Austrians now surrendered to Bethlen at the first summons, the greatest part of the garrisons rallying round his standard. The Austrian dominions began again to experience the rapacity and devastations of his troops, though his triumphant march was very speedily to prove fruitless. The counties along the Austrian frontier, chiefly exposed to the havoc of war, lay waste and ruined, the inhabitants being scarcely able to find the scantiest subsistence. To the scarcity of provisions was added the severity of winter, which forced Bethlen to retreat after an agreement similar to the peace of Nickolsburg.

This new peace raised again the heads of the bishops, to whom the death of the Protestant palatine Turzo had given much encouragement. In the year 1624, Ferdinand caused Nicholas Esterhazy to be elected palatine, a man well disposed to encourage the primate Pazman in his persecuting schemes. Bethlen, fully alive to the loud lamentations of the Protestants, thought it, however, advisable to abide his time. A favourable opportunity for again entering the field soon offered itself. Christian, king of Denmark, succeeded in the year 1626 in gaining the combined assistance of Charles I. of England, of the Netherlands, and of the prince of Brandenburg. It may easily be imagined, that these Protestant allies did not neglect to secure the co-operation of Bethlen, who was allied to the prince of Brandenburg by his marriage with his sister Christiana. According to the plan laid down, Christian was to begin his operations in Westphalia,

while another army, under the count of Mansfeld, in the pay of England, was to penetrate into Hungary, there to unite with the Hungarian troops. Mansfeld accordingly, after having traversed Silesia, succeeded in arriving at Trentsin, a Hungarian county adjacent to the Austrian provinces. Bethlen soon appeared on the field, acting in union with the Count of Mansfeld and the Duke of Weimar, though almost to no effect. The disagreement of the Duke of Weimar with the Transylvanian prince crippled considerably the intended operations of the latter. After a few undecisive battles which Bethlen fought with Wallenstein, the army, both foreign and Hungarian, became, from want of provisions and dissensions among the leaders, dispirited and ineffective. The Count of Mansfeld, entrusting the remnant of his troops to Bethlen, determined upon leaving Hungary for England;¹ and the death of the Duke of Weimar took place shortly after.

Bethlen was soon glad to conclude an armistice which terminated in a peace. Before he had time to carry into execution any more effectual measures for the safety of his country, this prince was suddenly carried away by death in the forty-ninth year of his age (1629), at the very time when the Protestant cause gained a powerful defender in the king of Sweden. In fact, the death of Bethlen at this juncture, was one of those fatalities which on several occasions proved so injurious to the interests of Hungary, at times when these seemed to be favoured by the general aspect of European events. Had Bethlen survived to co-operate

¹ The count's object in going to England, which journey he tried to effect by way of Constantinople, was to get the promised subsidies from King Charles. He died, however, in Bosnia, at Rokov.

with Gustavus, he might have secured Hungarian liberty by something more effectual than written treaties. True, that by his attempting to secure for himself, in addition to Transylvania, large possessions in Hungary and Silesia, Bethlen betrayed both his ambition and his desire for self-aggrandizement. But it is, on the other hand, evident that Transylvania, ruled by a powerful liberal prince, would in itself have been a guarantee for the liberties of Hungary Proper. Though a zealous Protestant, Bethlen was free from any tinge of the spirit of persecution. He employed the short days of his reign in promoting art and science, by inviting many eminent men to his country, and by sending out to the universities of Holland and Germany many promising youths. One of the most lasting monuments of his reign was the establishment of the Reformed College in Enyed, a college provided with a costly library, and which survived to the year 1848.

Pazman lost no time in seizing the favourable opportunity now offered for the suppression of the Protestants. In the synods which he convoked, all the recent enactments in favour of the Protestants were declared null, while the primate, in proof of his omnipotence, claimed for himself the first official rank in the kingdom, next to the sovereign; proving, from some ancient statutes, his superiority to the palatine. This assumption created discord between him and the palatine, the bigoted Esterhazy. As mighty feudal lords, the bishops had under their sway vast numbers of the peasantry, being, as may be imagined, not very scrupulous about the means adopted for the conversion of their serfs. In the diet the Protestant cause was likewise dependent on the will of a lay Catholic ma-

jority, and, in a short time, more than three hundred churches were wrested from their Protestant owners. The cry of the oppressed, however, soon aroused a protector in George Rakoczy I., successor of Bethlen in Transylvania. Ferdinand II., meanwhile, died (1637), as the German historian Menzal says, "Like an aged hyena, amid mouldering bones and ruins." His successor was his son Ferdinand III., during whose reign the Catholic party, recently increased by many powerful families, got the full command of the diet, which hastened the renewal of the war. Rakoczy having been promised the assistance of Sweden, which, however, proved abortive, broke into Hungary, and after a short campaign against the Austrian generals, Bucheim and Götz, signed a treaty (1645), which, as usual, guaranteed the civil and religious liberties of Hungary.¹ The readiness of Ferdinand III. in consenting to this agreement may in part be explained from the circumstance of his wishing to obtain without opposition the coronation of his son Ferdinand IV., who was designated king in the year 1647. The plenipotentiaries of the European powers, meanwhile, commenced their sittings at Osnabrück, drawing up the conditions of peace, leaving the Hungarians to fight their battle alone in the face of the rest of Europe. In the same year Rakoczy died. The reign of Ferdinand IV. was too short to exhibit the character and policy of that prince, who was succeeded by his brother Leopold.

¹ See Leonard's *Receuil des Traitez de paix par les Rois de France avec tous les princes et potentats de L'Europe*, tome v. (Traitez avec la Transylvanie); where are given two treaties of Rakoczy, one with Sweden, the other with France. The purport of these treaties for the most part referring to Rakoczy's own interests, are not calculated to convey a high idea of his character.

CHAPTER IV.

LEOPOLD I. AND TÖKÖLI.¹ (1655-1699.)

PREVIOUS to his coronation at Presburg, in the year 1655, Leopold signed the following articles:—1st, That he would observe the franchises, immunities, statutes, rights, and customs of the country; 2d, That all grievances should be redressed in the diets which should be convoked at least once in every three years; 3d, That the affairs of Hungary should be transacted only by Hungarians, and that the Hungarians should never be cited before foreign tribunals; 4th, That according to the 1st article of the year 1608, the government of the frontiers and other charges should be confided only to Hungarians; 5th, That, in order to establish peace, the religious affairs should remain on the footing established by the pacification of Vienna, and that no one should be disturbed either by his majesty or others on account of religion; 6th, That his majesty should maintain all the conditions in regard to the election of the palatine; 7th, That the free towns and mountain districts (*civitates liberas et montanas*) should be preserved in all their rights and liberties; 8th, That his majesty should not be permitted, under any pretext whatever, to remove the crown out of the coun-

¹ This name is in foreign books frequently written Tekeli, the word being so pronounced.

try ; 9th, That no pretext should justify the séparation of any dependency of the crown of Hungary from the mother country ; 10th, That the alliances made with Bohemia, the other provinces, and Transylvania, should be maintained in full force according to the pacification of Vienna ; 11th, That his majesty should preserve inviolate the 2d article of the diet of 1608, and should neither proclaim war nor introduce foreign troops into Hungary without the consent of the diet (*nec sine præsenti et consensu regni in Hungaria et partibus sibi annexis, ullum vel bellum moveat, vel militem extraneum inducat*).

It was after these precautions taken by the Hungarian States that Leopold commenced his reign, in 1657. "Leopold," says the German historian of Hungary, "was a young, learned and prudent prince, fond of business, who, from his piety, good-heartedness, and liberality, delighted in the happiness of his subjects, and the administration of justice. But the fault committed in his education placed him in a position by which he was led into quite a contrary path. Being designed for the church, his education was entrusted to the Jesuits, who impressed the young prince with such a veneration for their order, that he took their insinuations and requests as binding commands, always obeying what they said, notwithstanding his perceiving that they were frequently led by avarice and ambition. He gave ear, it is true, to some of his lay officials ; but they were soon obliged to give way to the Jesuitical confessors. Leopold's spiritual advisers agreed with the Hungarian bishops, that the temporal power must entirely be submitted to that of the pope, that every papal order was to be implicitly executed, and that no treaties of peace or coronation-

oaths were of any validity if they tended to the disadvantage of the Roman See. They farther agreed that a Catholic regent or subject should never omit an opportunity of persecuting the heretics and extending the power of the Catholic church. The Jesuits fettered so much the conscience of the emperor, that in his confessions he divulged to them all his secrets, and they tried to convince him that the true church is only to be found in the society of the Jesuits. As regards Hungary, the aim of the Jesuits was, to establish in that country absolute power, a scheme which could not but flatter the ambitious designs of the emperor."¹ This policy soon made itself manifest by the introduction of fresh foreign troops, whose ostensible object was to march to Transylvania,² but who, as will be seen, had another part to perform. The Austrian general Montecuculi, not very desirous to fight the Turks in Transylvania, soon retreated to Upper Hungary. Finding the population shut their gates before him, he marched to Lower Hungary, where he assisted the bishops in their persecutions of the Protestants. Leopold, being in want of new subsidies, convoked the diet in the year 1661. The Protestant party inveighed loudly against the systematic oppression of their co-religionists, who, besides being robbed of their churches and schools, were exposed to systematic insult and cruelty. Their voice, however, was powerless in the diet, from which they accordingly withdrew. The grand vizier, meanwhile, marched on to Gran, crossed the Danube, and, after a siege of a month, re-

¹ Gebhardi *Gesch. des Reichs Hungarn*, Buch 34, p. 528.

² In this principality two candidates for the supreme rule rose in arms against each other; the one, named Abafi, was supported by the Porte; the other Kemeny, by Leopold.

duced the fortress of Neuhausel. Leopold, however, profiting by the negligence of the vizier, who, instead of marching up to Vienna, afterwards spent his time in idle skirmishes, concentrated a large army, which soon after gained a signal victory over the Turks at St Gotthard (1664). This would have been the time for striking a still more decisive blow, and for the complete repulse of the Turks. But no sooner had Leopold learned the news of this success than he hastened to conclude a peace. Its chief provisions were: that Transylvania should be evacuated both by the imperial and the Turkish troops, that in Hungary matters should remain *in statu quo*, that the emperor should be permitted to erect a fortress on the Vag, and that after the ratification of the peace in Constantinople, he should send to the Sultan a present of 200,000 florins. Considering that, in addition to their old possessions, the Turks now gained Grossvardein and Neuhausel, such a peace could not, as may be supposed, be satisfactory either to the Austrian party in Vienna, or to the Hungarians. In fact, this peace, besides being looked upon as disgraceful, was the more odious for having been signed without the participation or even knowledge of the Hungarians. While the Turks spread devastation in those districts they recently acquired, the bishops, availing themselves of the general consternation, increased in confidence; the archbishop Selepcsény sending out his Jesuits accompanied by armed forces, to commence the great work of conversion. At that time, however, many of that party who had blindly followed the Ferdinands, became diffident of the policy of Leopold. With Bohemia before their eyes, the temporal lords began to suspect, that the army employed to suppress the Pro-

testants would finally be used for the subversion of all the institutions of the country, and they accordingly assumed a position hostile to Austria and the bishops. The head of this national party were the palatine Veseleny, Peter Zriny the Ban of Croatia, and Nadasdy the chief-justice. Having the command of troops which they had led against the Turks, Zriny and Nadasdy prepared to use their forces for the defence of their country's rights. Their scheme, however, at once proved abortive and tragic in its results;¹ and the so-called conspiracy of these aristocrats afforded the emperor a pretext for entirely abolishing the ancient constitution of Hungary. The prince Amprigen, knight of the Teutonic order, was named viceroy; and the diet was superseded by a consul nominated by the emperor. Leopold, easily persuaded by the bishops that the last troubles proceeded from the Protestants, encouraged their persecuting zeal. The primate Selepcsény established accordingly a high tribunal at Presburg, summoning the Protestant gentry and clergy to appear before his Jesuitical judges (1673). More than 200 Lutheran and 75 Calvinist ministers made their appearance at Presburg, and were ordered to make their choice among the three following propositions:—1st, To renounce their functions; 2d, To ac-

¹ Veseleny died soon after the scheme was formed; and the rest of his comrades were betrayed. Zriny, who was in possession of a fortress, refused to surrender, and defied the threats of the emperor, but yielded at last to the overtures of Prince Lobkowitz, chancellor of the emperor, who promised him full pardon, and even new favours. Both he and his companions were, however, in spite of the remonstrances of the Hungarian States, brought before a foreign court-martial, accused of high treason, and sentenced to death (1671).

cept perpetual banishment under pain of death ; 3d, To change their religion which, as they were told, would be highly gratifying to his majesty and his courts of justice. Some of these victims were prevailed upon to make their choice of the last of these proposals ; others were determined to defend their faith with their life, while a large number of Protestants, both lay and ecclesiastical, sought refuge in Turkey. " There were," says the historian of the Turkish empire, " 250 ministers that obeyed the summons, and by their trials it appears that their religion was the chief crime, for though other things were laid to their charge, yet all was but pretence. The judges used all means to intimidate them, and to shake that great constancy which they showed for their religion. They sentenced them to death, imprisoned them, threatened them with the gallows, and employed all the pernicious arts of torment and vexation that a persecuting spirit could contrive to shake or surprise the frailty of man ; dragged them into their churches, forced them upon their knees to adore the Host and their images, let loose the fury of the soldiery upon them, and encouraged them to torment them. In the midst of this barbarous usage they would sometimes pretend to show a glimpse of pity, and endeavour to allure them by promises of the imperial favour and protection, offering them preferments, upon condition they would change their religion. At length finding them proof against all their arts, they stigmatised several and sold them to the Spanish galleys."¹ The cry of the Hungarian

¹ Rycant's *History of the Turks*, p. 20. It is strange to find this author, notwithstanding his full knowledge of the cruelties Hungary suffered, and of the fact that the redresses promised by the emperor were not meant to be carried into effect, still talking

Protestants awoke even the most indifferent monarchs of Europe; while some who were sold at Naples for galley-slaves, recovered their liberty by means of the Dutch admiral John de Haen.¹

Assisted by Apafi (or Abafi), prince of Transylvania, the Protestants rose in arms, and soon found an earnest and devoted leader in Emeric Tököli (1676).

Besides military talents, Tököli was noted for his liberality and true attachment to the Protestant faith, as well as for his rhetorical powers, and his accomplishments as a linguist. No sooner was he chosen commander-in-chief, than he justified the hopes that had been formed of him. With a small but determined army, Tököli drove the imperialists from Upper Hungary, and soon after appeared before the gates of Presburg. Leopold, suspecting the secret negotiations of Louis XIV. with the malcontents, and unable to oppose Tököli, resolved upon summoning the diet. The diet accordingly met at Presburg in the year 1681; but in consequence of a plague which broke out in that city, it was transferred to Oedenburg, a town called in Hungarian Sopron. The emperor proved very liberal; the office of viceroy was declared abolished, and a palatine was nominated in Paul Esterhazy; the emperor confirming at the same time all the conditions on which he had been elected. The more considerate of the national party, however, were not carried away by this appearance of liberality, but were determined to fight out the battle. Disappointed

of Leopold, as a pious and gracious monarch, and seem to be much shocked at the alliance of the Hungarian Protestants with the Turks. Rycaut, however, has never enjoyed any reputation for profound insight.

¹ See Appendix and *Historia Dipl.*, p. 68.

by the king of France, who after the treaty of Nimeguen forgot the promises which his ambassador, the Marquis of Bethoun had made to the Hungarian Protestants, Tököli applied to the Porte, with whom he concluded, in 1683, a treaty embracing the following conditions:—1. Tököli to be acknowledged prince of Hungary, the right of election reverting to the nation after his death; 2. The sultan to leave intact all the ancient liberties of Hungary, and defend them with all his forces; 3. To conclude no peace without their knowledge, and to restore them all the places occupied by his troops; 4. The Hungarians to enjoy liberty of commerce through all the Turkish dominions, and their ambassadors to receive the same honours accorded to those of the crowned monarchs of Europe; 5. The annual sum to be paid to the Porte never to exceed 40,000 ducats. A more advantageous treaty could scarcely have been imagined, especially when it is taken into consideration that single extortions of the Austrian generals had equalled the sum promised to the sultan. Leopold, however, knew how to raise a cry against a treaty with the so-called foe of Christendom; a cry which was re-echoed by the pope, and taken up after him by the Hungarian bishops, who hurled their anathemas against Tököli as an ally of the infidels, and thus succeeded in alienating a part of his Catholic warriors.

A Turkish army under the command of the grand-vizier, Cara Mustapha, soon marched into Hungary; the sultan himself, Mohammed IV., accompanying the force as far as Belgrade, returning thence to his harem. The vizier, after crossing the Save, led his army to the fortress of Essek, and there awaited Tököli, who soon arrived. In his presence the vizier called a council of

war, in order to decide whether it would be more advisable to march right on to Vienna, or first to drive the Austrians from the places they occupied in Hungary. Tököli being called upon to give his opinion, delivered his sentiments as follows,¹—"To those who engage in great undertakings, most invincible vizier, three things are absolutely necessary for the execution of their designs—money, men, and, above all, prudence, the directress of our actions. With the first the soldiers are to be encouraged, and foreigners bribed; with the second the enemy is to be routed and all obstacles removed; and by the last, the too great ardour incident to heroic minds is to be moderated. There are two expeditions proposed to the Ottoman soldiery, both equally glorious, but not equally practicable and advantageous to the empire, viz., the siege of Vienna and the conquest of the whole of Hungary. My objection to the former may generally seem absurd, but not to those who thoroughly understand the situation of European affairs, much less to the wise council before whom I deliver my sentiments. Vienna is too remote; before reaching it, you must pass through the enemy's country, in many places defended with garrisoned castles. If by the bravery of the garrison of Vienna the siege shall be prolonged, the Ottoman

¹ In this speech the reader may see the perplexity in which Tököli found himself at this juncture. His dissuading the pashas from marching upon Vienna might have easily exposed him to suspicions clandestinely spread by the Austrians, which might have cost him his life. His task, therefore, was to prove the disadvantages of a siege of Vienna, and at the same time to open to the pashas prospects of other plunder and trophies. This speech will be found a masterly specimen of argumentation, couched in language admirably fitted to tell upon the vizier and his pashas.

empire will be exposed to greater danger than any since the taking of Constantinople. The provisions for such an army cannot be brought at once, and consequently will be intercepted by the enemy; the army will thus be reduced to extremities, and either perish with hunger, or be obliged to abandon the siege with loss and dishonour. But if your arms should succeed in taking Vienna, unless you shall think proper to abandon it, it appears to me that your empire will be involved in a more dangerous war, for that city is reckoned the bulwark of Christendom, and the Christian faith would be thought entirely ruined, if Vienna remained in your hands. To rescue it, all the princes professing Christianity will forget their private quarrels and unite against you. The king of France is your ally, but not so far as to suffer the Christian religion to be extirpated. He permits the emperor of Germany to be pressed, but with no other view than to enlarge his own dominions. He is very far from desiring to have you in his neighbourhood. The German princes frequently refuse the emperor their aid, lest he should receive too great an accession of power; but, if threatened in their own dominions, they will all unite their forces in their defence, and if much distressed, they will even submit to the king of France, and declare him emperor. And if that king unites his army with the Germans, I am afraid he will be more formidable than you imagine. If you consider these hints, most invincible vizier, you will clearly perceive the danger of this expedition, and will turn your thoughts to another scene of action, in which Ottoman valour may exert itself with less hazard. That scene is Hungary, a large and fertile kingdom, which, after frequently repelling your arms, and, what no other province has

done, obstructing for two ages your victories, now willingly submits to your laws, and earnestly sues for your assistance. The greater part of this kingdom follows my banner; the rest, subject to the tyranny of the German emperor, waits only for an opportunity to show how weary it is of his yoke."¹ Tököli then goes on to hold out the most encouraging prospects to the parties, picturing to them how easy it would be to take, in a single campaign, Germany and the rest of Europe, if the Austrians were once expelled from Hungary. The oratory of Tököli was, however, unsuccessful. The ambitious vizier had conceived the design of establishing a new western empire for himself, and resolved to sacrifice the interests of his master to his personal ambition. He accordingly led his army on to the gates of Vienna.

It would be superfluous here to narrate the events of this long siege (1683). The negligence with which the operations were carried on, enabled the emperor to avail himself of the arms of the Poles. Sobieski, the valiant king of Poland, assisted by the prince of Lothoringia, drove the Turkish host, as is well known, from the walls of the Austrian capital, and pursued their routed masses into the heart of Hungary. The imperialists, in pursuing the enemy, soon reduced Gran, a town near Pesth, which had been held by the Turks for more than a hundred and fifty years. The king of Poland, unwilling to fight longer in Hungary, took his way home. Charles of Lothoringia, after having assumed the chief command, displayed his military

¹ See Cantemir's *History of the Ottoman Empire*, Part ii., p. 300. This author asserts, on the authority of Ibrahim pasha and others, that Tököli decidedly opposed the siege of Vienna.

skill by the capture of Neuhausel and other towns in the year 1684. The success of the campaigns of these two years were, however, far from turning the scale in favour of Leopold. Buda, the centre of Hungary, as well as large portions in Lower Hungary and the southern districts, were still in the possession of the Turks, who maintained themselves also in Transylvania. Tököli, ever confident of his cause, had at his command almost all the population of Transylvania, as well as the people living along the Theiss, most of them Protestants.

The court of Vienna seemed at first resolved to relieve itself of the Hungarian leader ; and steps were taken to persuade the Seraskier Seitan, of Tököli's hostile feelings towards the Porte. The Austrian general, Caraffa, soon succeeded, with the aid of presents, in convincing the Seraskier of Tököli's guilt. Under some pretext he was invited by the Seraskier to Gross Varden, where he was seized and sent prisoner to Constantinople. But no sooner were the raptures over which had been caused at the court of Vienna by the success of this intrigue, than Tököli justified himself before the sultan, who soon gave him his liberty, and caused the corrupt Seraskier to be strangled.

The Austrians, commanded by general Schultz, meanwhile gained new advantages by the reduction of the towns of Kashau and Eperies, places which formed the central quarters of the Protestants. Having returned to Hungary, Tököli, though finding a large part of his combatants fighting under the banner of Erdody, Ban of Croatia, and other magnates in concert with the Austrian generals, again raised the national standard. In his manifesto, in which the sorrowful state of the country was depicted, Tököli spoke

thus in reference to the imperial promises and his alliance with the Turks: "The emperor, I hear, offers you amnesties! Beware of promises, which will never be fulfilled, and which, if you accepted, would be equivalent to acknowledging yourselves guilty. Are you not aware whence all the miseries that have befallen our country originated? Do you not know that all the plagues of our religious dissensions have come from the Austrian princes? Or have you already forgotten, that Ferdinand I. promised to Solyman one dollar for the head of every Hungarian? We are accused of having implored the assistance of the infidels. That is true; but we have done no act to which history does not furnish many parallels. From the Scriptures we learn, that the people of God united repeatedly their arms with those of idolatrous princes. In more modern times, both the branches of the House of Hapsburg, the Spanish and Austrian, have entered into different alliances with infidels; while not long ago the Poles availed themselves of the Tartars in their wars with the Swedes and Muscovites." In conclusion, Tököli points out his vast estates in Poland, where, as he intimated, he could live at perfect ease, distant from all the hardships and miseries of war, if it were not for the tears of his countrymen, which induce him to attempt their deliverance by force of arms.

Charles of Lothoringia now prepared for the siege of the Hungarian capital Buda. The Turks sustained a heavy cannonade for two months. But their expectations of receiving succour being disappointed, in consequence of the interception of the letters which the pasha of Buda had sent to the other Turkish generals in Hungary, they were at last expelled from this lofty stronghold, which they had kept for 145 years

(1686). The reduction of Buda was soon followed by other victories of the imperialists; while Tököli was now roaming with his small body of troops rather as a fugitive than a leader. Distracted by internal dissensions, and intimidated by the recent reverses, the sultan began to wish for peace. This, however, was chiefly obstructed by the emperor's insisting on the extradition of Tököli, a demand which the sultan Mohammed firmly refused to comply with.

Under these auspices was the year 1687 ushered in,—a year more tragic than any in the dark pages of the Hungarian annals. Prostrate already and withered up, with the life-blood arrested in her veins, Hungary was now to feel a long series of less noisy but more revolting slaughter, perpetrated by a band of foreign hangmen, who, parading from place to place in the name of the august emperor and defender of Christendom, strewed the streets with the bleeding heads of both Protestants and Catholics. The mainspring of these massacres was General Caraffa, who pretended to have reached the bottom of a conspiracy having its roots in the times of Ferdinand I., a detection which the court of Vienna was glad to take for granted. Caraffa, invested with full power, erected his first tribunal at Debreczin, a district entirely Protestant, and no longer in the hands of the Turks. Some information, elicited from two sutlers' wives, sufficed to that military chief-judge as a pretext for seizing the most respectable inhabitants of the neighbouring district, to be put to indiscriminate torture and death, and to have their property confiscated. Having gloated his eyes on the blood of the victims of this district, Caraffa transferred his tribunal to Eperies, a town in Upper Hungary. A large scaffolding was accordingly

erected in the centre of this place; and this mock-court, consisting of low-bred foreigners, soon began its sentences. A common prostitute, of the name of Eliza, acted as prosecutor, witness, and judge; and the sentences thus passed furnished to thirty hangmen, for the most part Spaniards, work for six months. Among the first victims were the members of the town council, as Zimmerman, Raucher, Ketzer, Baranay, who were soon followed by others. Premiums were awarded for the invention of new tortures, which consisted in wheeling, quartering, flaying, and the compression of the head with an iron hoop, so as to make the eyes burst out: It was a sad time for Hungary, this year of 1687, and down to the present day do the Hungarians shrink at the remembrances of the butcheries of Eperies. It is true the emperor now and then granted pardon to the accused, though that generally happened after the victims had been already executed.¹ The Court of

¹ "The only congress between the Hungarian malcontents and the emperor (says the author of the *Siècle de Louis XIV.* in his hasty annals of Europe) is a scaffold; it was erected in the market-place of *Eperies*, in the month of March 1687, and kept standing to the end of the year. If some of the contemporary historians are to be believed, the executioners were weary of sacrificing the victims which were, without much distinction, delivered up to them. Antiquity cannot match a massacre so long and so terrible; there have been equal severities, but none of such continuance. Humanity does not shudder at the numbers that fall in battle; it is common, they die sword in hand, and are revenged; but for nine long months, that people should see their countrymen dragged, as it were, legally to open butchery, must be shocking to human nature, and so barbarous a sight as to fill the soul with horror. That which is more terrible for the people (adds the same historian) is, that these cruelties sometimes succeed; and the success of them encourages tyrants to use men like wild beasts."

Vienna, following the policy observed in regard to Haynau in the year 1849, pretended to condemn the deeds of Caraffa, and to remove him from his post, though he was soon afterwards favoured with a marshal's baton. The people were paralyzed with horror. Abafi II., prince of Transylvania, was in the hands of the emperor, the Turks were intimidated, and many among the most influential aristocrats were fighting under the Austrian standard. Desolation and despair seemed to be the only elements of society; though a single act of female patriotism and bravery showed that there were yet true hearts in the Magyar land.

The consort of Tököli, by name Helen, and widow of Rakoczy her first husband, surrounded as she was in the small fortress of Munkacs, despised the threats of the Austrian besiegers, boldly refusing to surrender the last place held by the patriotic army. Even Tököli, flying from place to place, and unassisted by the Turks, felt encouraged by the example of his wife. The national flag, waving on the ramparts of Munkacs, looked, amid the endless desolation, to the eye of the wanderer like a palm-tree in the wilderness.

Caraffa was still pronouncing his sentences, when Leopold summoned some of the nobles to Vienna with the view of informing them of his determination to render Hungary a hereditary kingdom. The palatine, Paul Esterhazy, in hopes of receiving the title of prince of Germany, and Paul Szecheny, hopeful of soon obtaining a bishopric, readily agreed with the emperor. In the sheerest wantonness, Leopold summoned a diet, at which he informed the States of his intention. It may easily be imagined, that under such circumstances, the emperor did not meet with much opposition, and that the representatives assembled at

Presburg (1687), acknowledged the hereditary right of both the male branches of his house to the Hungarian crown. Joseph I., the eldest son of Leopold, was accordingly crowned king of Hungary, not however until he had taken oath to preserve inviolate all the laws of the country, with the sole exception of the 31st article of the Golden Bull, by which, as is known, the nobles were empowered to take arms against their king, should his government be at variance with the spirit of the Hungarian charter. The abrogation of this much boasted article was deeply lamented by the States convened. But a still greater misfortune awaited them; for they were too soon to experience that the royal sanction accorded to the other chapters of the code was but an idle promise. Indeed, it is surprising to find the Hungarian legislators so deeply regret the abrogation of the 31st article, and not see that what they deplored was perhaps one of the most flimsy and ill-conceived among the essential provisions of the Hungarian *Corpus Juris*. Discontent or oppression will make a people rise without a previously granted permission; while the written law can, on the other hand, never ensure success to those who rise in arms. Cromwell shattered the cavaliers without the permission of *Magna Charta*; while the same dynasty, which that Protector overthrew, was seen, just at the time Joseph began his reign in Hungary, to be precipitated from its throne a second time, in spite of written charters.

Tököli, ever hopeful and unbroken, tried to awaken and inspire the bleeding people by a new proclamation, and did his best to urge them to a last effort, which he had reason to think would be seconded by the new sultan, Solyman II.: "Hungarians! my enemies spread the report of my death; but I tell you, that I am yet

breathing the breath of life, and ready to defend your liberties. Fear makes you rally round the standard of the Austrian emperor; but you know too well these princes to trust their promises, and are fully aware what happened in connection with the so-called recent election. The present crisis constrains you to dissimulate; but knowing your hearts, as well as I do my own, I am fully aware that you feel a horror at what you are doing, and that you cannot but hate those who forge your chains, while the offices they hold require of them to do you good.

“What shame to see Count Esterhazy haggle for the title of prince of Germany, as if that of a palatine of Hungary were not superior! Is this the reward of all his treasons? Oh! that a man, honoured with my alliance,¹ should thus dishonour me and my nation. As for me, I had rather see my estates in the hands of my enemies than buy honours at such a price. Although, perhaps, destined by God to be unhappy, no one can compel me to become guilty; and rather than betray you, I would betray myself. It is well known to you that the sword I drew was on your behalf, and that the exertions I have made have been for you. For you have I passed through numerous perils; for you have I suffered chains, and for you have I run the risk of perishing by poison. But preferring a glorious death to an ignominious life, I am ready to expose myself to new dangers, and, if need be, to perish for your sake.

“Hungarians, it is not yet time to despair. You know that a mighty empire is ready to protect us, which, in spite of recent reverses, is yet powerful

¹ The sister of Tököli was married to an Esterhazy.

enough, an empire which, even if stripped of all its European possessions, will still have at its command two other parts of the globe. Do not believe that a single stroke will suffice to lay prostrate the empire of the East. Your enemies, who daily repeat that to you, well know the falsity of what they utter, and therefore do they spare the last drop of your blood.

“Have you forgotten all the massacres of your enemies? Is there any among you who can boast of having lost neither a parent, a brother or a kinsman during the massacres of Caraffa? Are you not aware that, to his cruelty, this general added rapacity, and that widows and orphans were, by his command, stripped naked? You know all that; and are not ignorant that, even since the feigned orders for mitigation, and a stricter rule for judicial proceedings arrived from Vienna, that man caused more than two hundred of your countrymen to perish. Ah! you know well what that fiend was wont to say to the poor victims when they asked for time to prepare themselves for death, ‘You will have time for that after the execution of the sentence.’

“How long will you suffer, ye brave Hungarians, your enemies to triumph over your innocence? If destined to perish, die with arms in your hands, and not under the axe of the headsman. The power of your enemy is not so great as you imagine; you have only to will, and you are free. Did you not see how long I defied them, and where would we now have been, had all of you rallied round my standard? Oh! do not wait till you are still weaker, and entirely ripe for the yoke, so long kept in preparation for you. Solyman, the new sultan, reaches you his hand. The name he bears was once the terror of Europe; and,

though we put no faith in Turkish prophecies, I cannot help telling you that the Turks believe in a prediction which says, that, after many troubles and misfortunes, the Turkish empire, at a moment of deep despair, will be regenerated by a prince of the name of Solyman. Rally, therefore, round me, and let us try to verify that saying for our own welfare. The Turks and we assisted each other for many years—why forsake now a path that bids fair to lead us on to freedom? What do you expect from the Austrians, who are your enemies? Look at the prince of Transylvania stripped of his dignity, in spite of his treaties with the emperor. And how often were the pledges violated which were made to yourselves? Nay, rather, do you know of a single pledge that has been redeemed? You have too often experienced that treaties, promises, and amnesties were nought but snares to catch you. Now, I pray you, reflect well upon the state you are in. Remember that, as for me, I could make my peace at any time; but, thanks to God, I never forget my duty to my fatherland. It cannot be that you did not hear, as well as I, the voice of thousands of innocent victims crying for vengeance; and, believe me, your delay will prove fatal to yourselves, and serve to embolden your enemies.”¹

After the publication of this manifesto, as heartfelt as the agonizing cry of the victims of Eperies, Tököli, assisted by a body of Turks, commenced his operations in Transylvania, and gained two signal victories over general Heister and the prince of Hanover—a turn of fortune which was the more encouraging, as a war had just broken out between France and the German em-

¹ See *Histoire d'Eméric Comte de Tekeli*, etc. Cologne, 1693.

peror. But by a strange fatality, always thwarting the success of Hungary, whenever it came into close contact with the conflicting interests of the rest of Europe, these very prospects tended only to accelerate its subjugation. Strange to say, the prostration of Hungary, as will be seen, was mainly caused by the event which established civil and religious liberty on the banks of the Thames. William of Orange, who had brought with him to the English throne his personal animosity to the king of France, marked the commencement of his reign by the formation of a Protestant alliance, supporting and consolidating the power of a dynasty with which European Protestantism fought a battle of life and death for nearly a century. It was undoubtedly natural to find England inclined to make war upon Louis XIV., and try to humble him; but, to see two Protestant countries pledging themselves to increase the influence and extend the territories¹ of a Catholic power, already commanding respect, was at best a most short-sighted and equivocal policy. But its disastrous effects were peculiarly felt in Hungary.

Assured of the assistance offered by the maritime

¹ By the separate article of the treaty concluded at Vienna, 1689, between Leopold and the two maritime powers, the latter bound themselves to assist the emperor's heirs in the acquisition of the German empire and the crown of Spain. It may also here be observed, that in the declaration of war made against the king of France, the allies of the empire mention, among other reasons, the French king's persecution of the Protestants, and stigmatize Louis as the enemy of Christendom. A fine stroke of diplomacy, truly! especially if we remember that, at this very time, the emperor caused the Hungarian Protestants to perish on the block, or flee before his axe to the wilds of Asia.

powers, Leopold took small account of the ravages of the French on the Rhine, and retained the bulk of his army in Hungary.¹ The elector of Bavaria and Louis of Baden led the imperial troops to new victories ; while the interests of the Porte suffered considerably from the short reigns of Solyman II., and his successor Achmed II. In the year 1695, Mustapha II., a man of warlike temper, ascended the throne. He was soon obliged, however, to abandon his ambitious schemes, in consequence of the peace of Ryswick, concluded between the king of France and the emperor in 1697. Pressed by Peter the Great, who rendered himself master of Azoph, and aroused by the progress of the imperialists, who had already overrun Servia and Wallachia, the sultan drew strength from despair, and determined to collect a new army, and to carry the war with renewed vigour into the very heart of Hungary. Previous to his departure from Constantinople, Mustapha sent an order to Tököli to follow his camp. This eminent warrior, overwhelmed by the calamities which were fast gathering round his family as well as his native land, and now succumbing to bodily in-

¹ "The emperor was so intent on the establishment of his absolute power in Hungary, that, to secure his end, he exposed the empire doubly to desolation and ruin. He left the frontiers almost quite defenceless on the side of the Rhine, against the inroads and ravages of France ; and *by showing no mercy to the Hungarians, nor keeping any faith with them*, he forced that miserable people into alliances with the Turks, who invaded the empire and besieged Vienna. Even this event had no effect upon him. *Tekeli* and the malcontents made such demands as none but a tyrant could refuse, the preservation of their ancient privileges, liberty of conscience, the convocation of a free diet or parliament, and others of less importance. All was in vain."—*Bolingbroke's Letters*, p. 247.

firmities, was then encamped near the warm springs of Brussa, a place where some of his patriotic successors, unfortunate like himself, found their final resting-place in the year 1849. Gladly following the sultan's orders, Tököli accompanied him to Belgrade.

In the council of war the Hungarian veteran advised to march first to Transylvania, then occupied by a small detachment of Austrians, and thence to begin offensive operations. But, impatient of delay, the sultan determined to march straight on along the Theiss upon Zenta, a place soon rendered famous by the battle to which it gave name. Mustapha immediately gave orders for the speedy construction of a bridge over the river, which was effected in four hours. The narrowness of this hasty structure allowed only four men to pass a-breast. A few batteries and a portion of the troops reached in this way the opposite bank, but the bulk of the army, with the sultan, remained behind.¹ The Turks were thus soon to meet with one of the greatest captains of the age, prince Eugene of Savoy, while the vizier Tarabolus Ali pasha, deadly enemy to the sultan, was completely indifferent to the issue of the day. Elmas pasha, however, one of Mustapha's most devoted friends, after having passed the Theiss, soon learned the approach of the enemy, which he immediately communicated to his master. The sultan gave orders to retreat, which, however the vizier kept secret, being, as is said, resolved rather to die on the battle field, however ingloriously, than afterwards perish by the cord. No sooner were the Turks encamped and

¹ The transportation of the whole army and artillery to the opposite side is said to have occupied at least forty-eight hours.—Salaberry, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. iii., p. 21.

surrounded by entrenchments suddenly thrown up, than Eugene began to display his battalions. Thrice did the Austrians force their way into the entrenchments of the janizaries, and thrice were they forced to fall back; while Mustapha, with the bulk of his host on the opposite shore, was prevented by the imperial batteries from coming to the assistance of his countrymen. All at once Eugene caused the main body of his army to advance. The first onset was sufficient to break the centre of the Turks, who after a sanguinary conflict of three hours' duration, were driven from all their positions. Precipitating themselves headlong on the bridge, in hopes of gaining the opposite shore, the heavy pressure soon broke down the loose wooden passage; and while one part perished in the waves, the rest were cut to pieces on the shore. Seized with fear, Mustapha quickly folded his tents, first flying to Belgrade and thence retiring to Adrianople. This defeat made the Porte inclined to listen to the overtures of peace, long before made by the English ambassadors; and the negotiations were accordingly initiated on the part of the sultan by Mauro-Cordato, dragoman to the Porte. Carlowitz, a small town in the county of Szerem near Peterwardein, was named as the place for the negotiations, which commenced about the end of the year 1698, and ended on the 26th January 1699. Before entering on the work, "in the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity," the diplomatists continued for two months to quarrel among themselves for the honour of the presidential chair. And the noble efforts for restoring peace and happiness would in all probability have been frustrated had not the subtilty of the Greek dragoman interfered to prevent such a catastrophe. To meet this embarrassment Mauro-Cordato

caused a large building, provided on all sides with doors, to be erected in the midst of the town, care being likewise taken to place in the deliberation hall not a square but a round table. The signal having been given, the plenipotentiaries rushed in all at once from all sides, each of them taking his seat with the satisfaction of thinking himself president.¹

The main articles of this peace, twenty in number, are as follows :—1*st*. Transylvania shall remain in possession of the emperor. 2*d*. The district round the fortress of Temesvar shall remain in the hands of the Turks, its boundaries to extend from the river Maros to the Theiss, and from the hither bank of the Theiss to the Danube. 3*d*. The use of the two first-named rivers shall be common to the subjects of both empires. 4*th*. The province called Batshka, lying between the Theiss and Danube, shall belong to the emperor, while the part towards Belgrade shall be subject to the Porte; further, Bosnia, along the river Una, shall remain in *statu quo*, and commissioners shall be nominated to fix the respective boundaries in Croatia. 5*th*. (This article forms the 8th point in the original treaty.) All hostile incursions and devastations shall be severely punished. It shall also be unlawful (9th article in the original treaty) to give any asylum or support to wicked men, rebels or malefactors; but both parties shall be bound to bring such men, and all thieves and robbers, whom

¹ The names of the English and Dutch ambassadors were Paget and Collier. Cantemir (*History of the Ottomans*, p. 384) represents these two ambassadors as prudent men and perfectly understanding the way of obtaining anything from the Turks. The pashas are said to have been very fond of the good wines of the latter diplomatist, which made them divulge the greatest secrets of the vizier's court.

they shall apprehend in their dominions, to condign punishment, although they happen to be the subjects of the other party: further, the governors of the frontiers, who shall refuse to apprehend and punish such men, shall be deprived of their offices, and visited with the punishment due to the delinquents: finally, it shall also be forbidden to either party to entertain such robbers or kidnappers; and whereas (10th¹ original article) many Hungarians and Transylvanians withdrew from their subjection to his imperial majesty into the dominions of the sublime Ottoman empire, and who cannot be passed over in the present treaty, it is stipulated that they may continue to live in that country; but the places to be fixed for their habitation shall be very far from the frontiers; and as they are hereafter to be reckoned among the subjects of the Porte, they shall never be permitted to withdraw from her sway; and if they offer to return to their country, they are to be declared malefactors, and therefore receive no shelter or support from the Germans; but, on the contrary, be surrendered to the Turkish governors of the frontiers. Some other points of this treaty referred to the guarantee of the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in the Turkish dominions, to the security of the monks, as well as to the prisoners of war.

It will be seen that this treaty sealed the fate of the patriotic Tököli. "Ce roi titulaire," says Salaberry,²

¹ It was in virtue of the 9th and 10th articles, repeated in subsequent treaties, that Francis Joseph demanded from the Porte the extradition of the Hungarian refugees at the end of the late war, and in which he found sufficient ground for meddling with the Montenegro affair, a matter which, as is known, was shortly after brought before the British parliament.

² *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol. iii., p. 30.

de la Hongrie disparut de la scène où il avait joué un rôle si brillant si mêlé d'espérance et de revers. Le jour où la paix fut signée à Carlowitz devint le dernier de la carrière politique qu'il avait fournie avec éclat pendant trente années; il eut la permission de se retirer sur le territoire Ottoman de l'aveu tacite de toutes les puissances. Le trône que le sultan lui avait promis se changea en un asile obscur où il finit ses jours. Dé trompé de la grandeur dont il n'avait connu que la perspective Illusoire, ce noble jouet de la fortune mourut abreuvé de regrets amers. Mais le sultan, pour avoir accéléré par des sacrifices les termes d'une guerre désastreuse, ne doit pas être accusé d'avoir abandonné les Hongrois qui s'étaient fies à ses promesses. Il accueillit avec, hospitalité et grandeur les mécontents qui voulurent suivre Tekeli; quatorze cents familles s'établirent sur le territoire Ottoman sous la protection de Mustapha; il leur fit distribuer des terres à cultiver, leur accorda le libre exercice de leur religion, et les exempta de toute contribution pendant dix années."¹ Like many a great actor of the seventeenth century, Tököli has been handed down to posterity as an ambitious hypocrite, and a reckless disturber of the peace of Europe. Instead of finding his name amongst the illustrious ranks of the staunch defenders of right and liberty, we meet with Tököli chiefly in the annals of Turkish history, and characterised as an ally of the infidels for the destruction of European civilisation. But a modern and unprejudiced historian would find it difficult to meet with a leader more pure in heart

¹ Some historians in calling Tököli titular king of Hungary undoubtedly laboured under a mistake. His title imprinted on the coin struck by him was, *Emericus Comes Tekeli Princeps apertum Regni Hungariae Dominus*.

and more unselfish in purpose than he. Much intense patriotic feeling must have been in the breast of a man who, amid the loud hypocritical clamour raised by monarchs and popes, hoisted the national flag at a time when he saw nothing but demolished towns and smouldering villages, while the whole population of his country lay prostrate beneath the extortions and cruelties of innumerable foreign mercenaries. As a far sighted politician, Tököli felt convinced that, having once vanquished the Austrians, Hungary would have an easy game with the Turks, whose ferocity and power were gradually declining ever since the decease of the great Solyman, and who had now, in addition to repeated internal commotions, to contend against the new rising power of the north. The most censurable point in Tököli's career is the failure of his endeavour, if it may be so said; but it must not be forgotten, that there was no actor in modern times who was beset with greater difficulties, and who was thwarted by more unexpected casualties. In resuming the field, after the catholic league had enabled Leopold to drive the Turks from the walls of Vienna into the interior of Hungary, Tököli confided in the arms of his countrymen, and not in the diplomatic promises of the king of France. Nor can he reasonably be blamed for not having foreseen a Protestant coalition in behalf of the hereditary foe of the Reformation. A severe moralist might find enough to blame in the policy of the two maritime powers, and particularly with reference to the peace of Carlowitz, concluded solely under their auspices; but a heavier blame must attach individually to the person of the prince of Orange, then occupying the British throne, who ought not to have forgotten that it was to the agonising cry of a Russell and

a Sidney that he owed his own elevation. Instead of becoming the head of a free people, Tököli now reposed his dusty brow under the cypresses of exile, dwelling first at Constantinople, then in his country-seat in Nicomedia, and living long enough to hear the echo of the clash of arms of his unfortunate countrymen, who, after a short pause, again felt strength enough to rise for the assertion of their rights. As was the case, very recently in the year 1849, many a report was also then clandestinely spread as to the poverty in which Tököli and his followers lived, and the sufferings they sustained at the hands of the Turks. The whole, however, as related by Cantemir, who speaks as eye-witness, seems to dwindle down to a few plaintive words, uttered by the exiled leader, a thing very natural in such a condition.¹

¹ Cantemir, in his *History of the Ottomans*, p. 295, in softly alluding to the provisions of the peace of Carlowitz, says of Tököli, "he was sent away by the sultan to Nicomedia, where he was presented with a country-house, and being very much afflicted with the gout he died soon after in that place. He ordered himself to be buried in the suburbs of Pera, without the Greeks' church-yard, where the Christian ambassadors and their domestics are usually buried. Whilst I was at Constantinople I frequently used to converse with him, and have often heard him say, What can we do, my brother? It has pleased God to make us subject to a master, who, by his actions, does very well answer his shield, that is the crescent. I have found their false prophet mistaken in almost every point; yet in this, I believe, he spoke with a prophetic spirit when he gave his followers a crescent for their arms; for that very well denotes their inconstancy."

CHAPTER V.

JOSEPH I.—FRANCIS RAKOCZY—NEW WAR—MEDIATION OF ENGLAND AND HOLLAND—PEACE OF SZUTHMAR—(1699-1711.)

THE peace of Carlowitz, which disposed of the Hungarian territory, without the will or knowledge of the Hungarian States, in utter contempt of repeatedly confirmed laws, was in itself a deep source of new discontent,—which was considerably increased by the general policy continuedly pursued by the Court of Vienna. Even after the coronation of Joseph I., a prince who, if left to himself, might have perhaps followed a less provoking line of conduct, Leopold, the real master of Hungary, did not relinquish his designs of entirely demolishing its institutions. Now the opportunity for so doing seemed most favourable; the most prominent of the national party being either beheaded or in exile, while the high clergy were ready to second any measure of the government, provided they were allowed full scope in their persecutions of the Protestants.

The most willing instrument of the emperor was the primate Kollonics, the descendant of a family

which, along with the *Lichtensteins*, was arbitrarily raised by Rudolph II. to the peerage of the Hungarian realm, and which constituted a special point in the grievances preferred by the *Bocskay-party* against that emperor. This ecclesiastic, more fit for the sword than the gospel, and aided in his efforts by Paul Esterhazy the palatine, also a tool of the council of Vienna, took upon him as primate, and chancellor of Hungary, to explain, as follows, the wishes of the emperor to the Hungarian States:—"His imperial majesty could not better show us his paternal love, than by the resolution to treat Hungary like Austria and the rest of his hereditary dominions. The reforms Hungary needs are very numerous, let us therefore abandon our ancient laws (*leges consuetudinæ*) and accept of the new laws which able men are preparing for us. It is intended, and with right, that the nobles should renounce their exorbitant privileges, and begin to bear the burdens of the State. But let them remember that they will have the prospect of being honoured with many titles common in the rest of the empire." In concluding, his eminence dwelt on the inconvenience of continually voting new taxes and subsidies, and strongly recommended the advantage of a fixed tax (*contributio continua*); expressing, moreover, his hopes, that the States would be happy to bear the third part of the total expenses of the Austrian empire. These manifestations would in themselves have been sufficient to rouse the spirit of the nobles; though the persecutions newly commenced against the Protestants were the immediate causes of fresh, bloody, and protracted conflicts.

In the assembly of the Hungarian bishops, held at Vienna, they all pledged themselves to use all the means in their power for the so-called conversion of

the Protestants, each of them vowing not to suffer a single heretic in their dioceses. Pursuant to this decision, the primate Kollonics issued epistles to the Spiritual and Temporal Lords, strongly admonishing them to begin with energy the work proposed. His example was soon followed by several other dignitaries, and especially the bishop of Five Churches (Sopron), who caused the Protestant ministers to be thrown into prison, their churches and schools to be wrested from their hands, confiscating besides the properties of the lay Protestants. The palatine Paul Esterhazy, one of the largest landed proprietors, soon imitated the example set, depopulating many of his villages by the persecution and expulsion of his Protestant serfs.¹ In short, the Protestants in particular had all the foreign armies quartered upon them, and were in addition subjected to the heaviest taxes; while the privileged districts, inhabited by the Cumans and Jasiges (*oppida Haidonica*), were most flagrantly given in pledge to the Teutonic order of Germany. The better to ensure the general subjection of the country, large levies were made and sent out of the country; while some of the fortresses, from an apprehension of their being eventually surprised by the disaffected, were razed to the ground. The rapacity of the foreign commissioners, in the meantime, however, was also deeply felt by the Catholics, who saw many of their schools and public buildings converted into bureaux of different purposes. But though the despair which seized on the whole population, (many of whom, in order to escape the cruel extortions, left their homes

¹ See *Literæ Principis Pauli Esterhasi*, in *Historia Diplomatica*, p. 148.

to flee to Turkey), was of a kind which precluded the probability of a rise, yet only a single spark was wanted to throw Hungary into a blaze. And scarcely had three years passed since the peace of Carlowitz was signed, when Leopold, just embarking in the war of the Spanish succession, saw the Hungarians suddenly rise up as one man in arms. This emperor, however, as is well-known, lived only to see the commencement of these two wars.

The head and soul of this new struggle in Hungary was Francis Rakoczy II., the son of Helen Zriny, by her first husband, after the death of whom she became the wife of Tököli. Having surrendered the fortress of Munkacs in 1687, this heroine and her two children, *Julia* and *Francis*, were carried to Vienna. By the arbitrary orders of the emperor, the young boy was sent to Prague, and entrusted to the tuition of the Jesuits. After five years of his Jesuitical education, the young prince got the imperial permission to make a journey into Germany, where he married the princess Hesse of Rheinfels. Having returned to Vienna, Rakoczy procured a second permission to repair to his country seat of Saros, in Upper Hungary, 1701. After a short stay on his estate, he was all at once surprised in his castle by a detachment of Austrian soldiers, and carried prisoner to Vienna. Arraigned before a foreign tribunal, on the plea of having engaged in a plot, Rakoczy protested against this illegal procedure, appealing to the laws of his country, by which no Hungarian nobleman could legally be tried before a foreign court. The Austrian judges, however, continued their proceedings, based on the evidence of an Austrian officer named Longueval, whom Rakoczy favoured with his friendship when on

his estate, and who substantiated his evidence by the proffer of letters said to have been written by the young prince himself. Thus Rakoczy spent six months in the prison of Neustadt, whence he succeeded in making his escape, through the compassion of an officer named Lehman, who, sending away the prison-guard on some pretext, enabled the young prince to escape in the guise of a common soldier. Rakoczy first made his way to Hungary, and thence to Poland. No sooner had he arrived in that country than he met with the friendship and protection of the French ambassador the Marquis of Heron, having, to his great surprise, soon afterwards encountered his old friend the Count Berzseny, who likewise left his home to escape the vengeance of the Austrians. As a descendant of brave ancestors, both by his father's and his mother's side, Rakoczy soon formed the design of attempting the liberation of his country, already in a state of intense agitation. This prince, scarcely thirty years of age, made up his mind to approach the frontier of his country, at the head of but a few hundred undisciplined, ill-equipped men. The report of his march speedily spread into the interior of the country, Rakoczy, meanwhile, advancing up to the vicinity of the fortress of Munkacs, then garrisoned by the Austrians. No sooner had he quartered his men than he expounded the reasons and objects of his enterprise in a proclamation which was issued in June 1703. Omitting here that part which specifies the fundamental laws of Hungary and their respective violations by the emperor, on repeated occasions, this document runs as follows:—"The old and half-healed wounds of the illustrious Hungarian nation are again ripped up, and loudly call for a remedy. But to preserve the body

from falling a prey to an old consuming gangrene, the knife must be applied to it. A few who are ignorant of the continual efforts of the House of Austria to destroy the liberties of Hungary will attribute our rise to a natural feeling of restlessness, and a propensity for troubles. But the world knows too well what the Hungarians formerly fought for, when Bocksay, Bethlen, our own ancestors, and Tököli, took arms. Ah! it is painful to see a nation, which in former times defended Christendom against innumerable enemies, robbed of all its ancient privileges, forced to surrender its right of election, and to be incorporated into another empire. The Aulic Council grasps violently all our internal administration, the native nobles are excluded from all offices and dignities, and Hungary is disposed of by treaties of peace without the consent or knowledge of the nation. The cries of orphans and widows, bereaved by the government of Vienna, fill the air, and the best of the patriots are reduced to beggary; all these revolting acts being done under the pretext of chastising the Turks. Oh! that the people should now suffer more from a Christian monarch than they ever did from the Mussulman! It is notorious that the extortions of the council of Vienna precipitated our population into unheard of calamities, that some sought refuge in suicide, some, to meet the rapacity of the foreign officials, did either sell their children to the Turks, or hire out their own wives, while many were happy to find refuge in Turkey.

“Who does not know that the days of the rule of the Crescent are now looked back upon as moments of happiness? and who is not aware, from the accounts lately made public, that the sums, extorted by the Austrians in a single year, exceeded the tribute the

Turks used to receive for half a century? Or are you ignorant by whose machinations all our religious troubles were caused? Have you forgotten that it is the old policy of Austria to persecute religion in defiance of all law, as it did in Bohemia? Let me tell you, that, by dividing the river, one makes several small and innocent streamlets; and that, in like manner, the easiest way to subjugate a nation is to have it first broken up into small impotent parts, be it by religious or other quarrels. The Aulic Council has absorbed all our institutions, nothing is left, not even our national assembly. It is revolting to think that the bloody theatre of Eperies, that example of the religious tolerance of the Austrian rulers, was to pave the way for the hereditary succession of that House. Not satiated with that blood, she thirsted for more. Not long ago they took hold of me, a descendant of free princes, whom they attempted to convict by false distorted evidence, before an illegal tribunal. Like Daniel of old, rescued by the grace of God from the muzzle of hungry lions, I was marvellously delivered from my prison by that same power, and which afterwards led me to the port of safety. Believe me, the divine clemency which brought me into the interior of our country, will not suffer the Austrians to tread down our rights any longer. Let the Hungarian arms be displayed in the sight of the Christian world; let that world balance in the scale of justice the wrongs we have to reckon with the Austrian princes, and let it try to assist and favour a nation which stands up in the defence of its wounded liberties."

Rakoczy's proclamation, as may be imagined, spread like an electric spark throughout the whole country, hundreds hastening to his banner. Leopold, though

backed in his war against France by the united provinces and by England, which followed the same policy under Queen Anne that had been commenced by her predecessor, proved quite alive to the importance of the appearance of the Hungarian leader. In fact, none of the parties engaged in the war of succession could, up to that date, boast of any decisive advantage. While the Duke of Vendome compelled Prince Eugene to raise the siege of Mantua, the allied armies reduced in the Netherlands, Liege and Venloo; and no sooner had the English admiral Brooke defeated the French in the port of Vigo, than Villars and Tallard beat the Austrians at Breisach and Landau. The emperor, therefore, attempted to amuse Rakoczy with negotiations, a scheme in which he availed himself of Paul Szecheny, archbishop of Kolocsa. In one of the letters addressed to the archbishop, the emperor expresses his regrets at the outrages committed by his servants, manifesting *his deep sorrow* to see the country launched into a new war. His eminence is accordingly asked to employ all means, public and secret, in order to acquire some influence *with his majesty's beloved subjects* now in arms. Rakoczy, it appears, well perceived the true nature of the addresses made by Kollonics, though he found it best to listen with an air of confidence to his suggestions, and to suffer his presence in the camp. This policy on the part of Rakoczy was quite natural, as his success at that time was much dependent upon the fulfilment of the offers made to him by the Marquis of Bonac, the French ambassador in Sweden. According to an agreement made between the Hungarian prince and that ambassador, Rakoczy was to be aided by France with arms, money, and officers, and the elector of Bavaria raised to the Hungarian throne.

With a body already numbering several thousand troops, increased by some squadrons sent from the palatine of Kiov, the prince continued advancing as far as and beyond the Theiss. The Cumans and Jasiges now rose in masses, and followed the national leader on his march toward the Danube; and scarcely had a single year elapsed since the national standard had been raised, when Rakoczy saw himself master of the greatest part of Hungary. It must, however, be admitted, that his rapid and triumphant march was not the result of a peculiar military genius, or of extraordinary feats of valour. The bulk of the Austrian army was drawn to Italy and the Rhine; and the generals, Montecuculi and Nigrelli, who were left behind, to watch over the peace in Hungary, had only inconsiderable forces at their disposal. In the first years of the war, indeed, the circumstances of these generals were so far favourable, that they were enabled, on any given occasion, to draw assistance from, and, if hardly pressed, to fall back upon the fortresses. But the tremendous shout of the nation was soon sufficient to strike terror into the hearts of the isolated garrisons, who, at the very approach of the national army, opened their gates. Having at last taken a lesson from late experiences, almost all those magnates who, not long ago, had fought against Tököli, now gave their support to Rakoczy; his prominent officers being Berzeny Ocskay, and Alexander Karoly. The last officer was formerly attached to the interest of the emperor, but no sooner had Rakoczy made his appearance, than Karoly became one of the chief supporters of the national cause. Karoly's progress in the southern provinces of Hungary, where the Slavonic population, called Rascians, rose in arms for the

emperor, and awoke the military colony in Nicomedia, formed by the followers of Tököli. These veteran soldiers soon left their second home, and entered Hungary to join Karoly, under whose banner they soon penetrated into the heart of Austria. In marching upon Vienna, Karoly acted in concert with the operations of the Gallo-Bavarian armies, which were likewise to attack the Austrian capital. These simultaneous movements were, however, disconcerted in consequence of the interception of some despatches. It was at this juncture that a circumstance occurred, which not a little served to slacken the progress of the Hungarian arms. Lord Stepney, British ambassador at the court of Vienna, offered his mediation to the Hungarian Confederates, who met in the town of Gyöngyös, in 1704. In reply to the ambassadors of England and the United Provinces, Rakoczy expressed his satisfaction at the mediation of two countries which had shed so much blood for the defence of their liberties, and which, he hoped, would heartily wish Hungary to enjoy like happiness. The Confederates, who solemnly acknowledged Rakoczy as their head, decided upon the following articles to be proposed for the conclusion of a peace with the emperor:—I. That the king should, according to the laws of the country, reside in Hungary. II. That the diets should henceforth invariably meet every three years. III. That the Hungarian courts of justice and administration should be restored to their independence. IV. That the rights and privileges of the Protestants should remain inviolate. V. That all the illegal taxes, especially that on salt, should be abolished; further, that no public offices should be given to foreigners, and that the illegal sentence passed upon

Rakoczy should be declared null and void. While these deliberations were going on, the fortune of war began to turn in favour of the emperor on the Rhine. The English government, having decided to enter as principals in that war, the Duke of Marlborough soon joined Prince Eugene with an Anglo-Hessian army; and the first fruit of the British commander's operations was the victory of Hochstadt, gained against Tallard and Marsin. The council of Vienna now took a bolder stand in regard to Hungary, as was exhibited in the answer made by the Austrian minister Kaunitz to the demands of the Hungarians. This was, however, far from diminishing the courage of Rakoczy, though he was much impeded by the intrigues both of his immediate friends and of the court of Vienna.¹ On the other hand, the Hungarian leader gained additional importance from his being elected prince of Transylvania, and flattered himself at the same time with the hope of aid from Charles XII. the hero-king of Sweden. Assisted by fresh troops, suddenly withdrawn from the banks of the Rhine, the Austrian general Heister, who operated against the main body of Rakoczy, assumed a more threatening position, though it led to no decisive engagements. In the meantime the British government renewed its offers of mediation, Lord Step-

¹ Okulicsnay, one of the confederates, and as a Lutheran enjoying much credit among the Protestants, was by that time gained over by Leopold. In order to damage the influence of Rakoczy, he tried to make the Protestants believe that they had more to expect from the emperor, as an ally of Protestant powers, than from Louis XIV., who was assisted by the see of Rome. In the meantime the court of Vienna spread a report of Rakoczy's hatred to the Catholics, in order to alienate the King of France from his cause. Both these intrigues, and especially the latter, soon produced the desired effect.

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ney being joined by Lord Sunderland, while the Dutch were represented by Bruyninx and Baron Rechtern. Amid these preparations Leopold died, and many of the Hungarians began to look with more confidence to Joseph, who was known to be a more liberal prince than his father.

In the plenipotentiary letter given to the ambassadors, Queen Anne speaks thus : " As the flourishing kingdom of Hungary has long been torn by intestine wars, and as those inglorious bloody dissensions trouble the tranquillity of the neighbouring states, we, who deplore the fate of this country, feel obliged to try every means in our power to restore the Hungarians to their ancient place, and to make them partake of the clemency of his imperial majesty. The particular friendship we bear to the emperor, as well as the singular circumstances in question, bade us undertake this task with a feeling of sincere affection ; and our benevolence toward the warlike Hungarian nation, which was through many centuries the bulwark of Christendom against the Turks, does no less oblige us to do all in our power to make them share the fruits of his imperial majesty's favour. The welfare of Europe demands that these civil passions be turned against the common enemy for the glory of the august house of Austria ; and requires that the noble Hungarian blood, now shed in an inglorious way, be rather spilt for its legitimate monarch and country, and to extinguish in the French king his lust for universal monarchy (*in extinguendam regis Galliae universaliter regnandi libidenum*). We know too well the imperial clemency, and the long wars of the Hungarians, to doubt their readiness in agreeing to a peace proposed by a power which has at heart the interest of the house of Austria, and at the

same time wishes well to the Hungarians. By these presents we beg his imperial majesty to grant conditions of peace to his subjects, and exhort the Hungarians to lay down their arms as soon as these conditions have been offered. As such negotiations require able men, we trust much in the activity, prudence and fidelity of our much beloved cousin, Lord Charles Sunderland, whom we hereby invest with full powers to join our noble and faithful ambassador, George Stipney, accredited to the court of his imperial majesty, empowering both of them to treat with the emperor and his Hungarian subjects, and we do promise to ratify whatever the said ambassadors, either conjointly or singly will agree to. To give more force and truth to our good offices we sign this present with our hand, and seal it with our own seal." (Windsor Castle, June 15, 1705.)

The Hungarian Confederates, who were tolerably well acquainted with what happened in England in the preceding age, felt offended at the expressions used by her Britannic Majesty, and expressed their distrust in the mediation of a power which spoke of *inglorious struggles and imperial clemencies* to a people which rose for law and justice; being, besides, dissatisfied with the vagueness of the terms of the despatch, and the total absence of anything like a promise of a guarantee. Rakoczy, therefore, informed his lordship to look for new credentials, if desirous of being listened to by the Hungarian Confederates. The English ambassador thereupon found no difficulty in producing another credential, couched in flattering and quite other terms. The rude and plain Magyar mind, however, perceived the diplomatic craft, observing that this last despatch was of an earlier date than that which was

first presented.¹ While the British government redoubled its efforts to mediate peace between Hungary and Austria, the Hungarian Confederates met at Szecsen (September 1705), and promulgated the following articles in reference to the reorganisation of Hungary:—Rakoczy, as chief of the state, was to govern the country in concert with twenty-five senators of the nobles and barons of the country; the financial department being confided to a special board. *2d.* Each country was to keep two deputies at the court of Rakoczy, in order to watch over their respective interests, *3d.* Rakoczy and his senate were authorised to conclude peace with the mediating maritime powers. *4th.* It was determined to establish concord and friendship between the three religious confessions. The confederates, as well as the prince, took an oath strictly to observe the points agreed upon, never to relax in the endeavour to secure the liberties of the country, pledging, at the same time, their descendants to remain true to the national compact.

The mediating ambassadors, who first met at Schemitz, now assembled at Tirnau, continuing their deliberations till July 1706. That the main object of these good offices was to slacken the activity of Rakoczy, and gradually to detach him from the French alliance, is scarcely necessary to prove; but it soon appeared that what Austria chiefly aimed at was to gain armis-

¹ In the said plenipotentiary letter of Queen Anne, dated 27th December 1705, and presented to the Hungarian confederates in April 1706, Her Britannic Majesty expresses herself in quite a different manner, making no mention of *subjects*, wanting imperial *clemencies*, and *inglorious struggles*; herein the Hungarians are spoken of as a nation once mighty and brave, and now fighting for their rights.

tices, the grant of which was firmly refused as soon it became more advantageous for the Hungarians.

But before proceeding to the recommencement of hostilities, now rendered inevitable by the haughty bearing of the emperor, it will be particularly interesting here to cite the three following letters which throw too much light on the main question to be omitted, the more especially as they are referred to in none of the received histories of Hungary :—

“Yesterday,” says an English traveller, “I returned from Hungary with the plenipotentiaries of England and Holland, having continued in that country for very near nine months together. I have had time to make some remarks on the customs of the Hungarians, and their inclinations in relation to the peace, for which their Excellencies have taken so much pains to no purpose, which I shall impart to you another time. I must content myself to tell you at present that the Hungarians are in general grave and reserved, which is the reason that people mistake them at first, and take for rudeness and want of good manners what is the effect of their cautiousness and jealousies. I was myself mistaken as well as others ; but my long continuance amongst them, has convinced me that their nobility have as much politeness as any of their neighbours, and that they are free and easy whenever they think they may be so without any danger or prejudice to their interest. I was never better entertained in my life, and I think none of the retinue of the ministers of England and Holland can complain of any incivilities on the part of this people. The Jesuits are very powerful at Tirnau, and have many learned men in their society, who are free and very communicative. They have taken a world of pains to search after the

original and antiquity of the Hungarian nation, and have ready for the press a great volume of remarks on the same, with a world of inscriptions, medals and other monuments, which will not only give us a better account of that country than any book extant, but will also illustrate several obscure things in the Roman history, and especially in relation to the expeditions of that people towards the Danube. I don't question but you have had an account from time to time of the negotiations which were set on foot by the mediation of England and Holland, but how the same came to break off, I shall tell you another time. I was once in hopes that the peace would be soon concluded, and I thought the victory of Ramillies would have contributed to the pacification of these troubles; but I was mistaken; and, if I am rightly informed, that great and unexpected victory has had a contrary effect. The Jesuits have certainly the best intelligence that any one can get in Hungary, and they have all along told me that these negotiations would come to nothing at all; and they had such grounds for their assurance, that notwithstanding they knew that their banishment out of Hungary was one of the chief articles insisted upon by the malcontents, I could not discover the least uneasiness in them on that point. The truce expiring this day the troops of both parties are actually in motion to renew their hostilities, and you may expect to hear of the most bloody war that ever was, which I am afraid will be still more cruel than a war between the Christians and the Turks. I pity the troops that are to be concerned in this quarrel; for as the Hungarians expect no mercy from the Germans, they are not likely to give any quarter to such who shall fall into their hands. The generals have not been idle during the

suspension of arms,—they have exercised their troops, and seem resolved to fight it out to the last man, since, as they say, they have nothing to expect but fetters and chains, if they are overcome by the imperialists. Their commanders have exasperated the people to that degree that they will rather consent to put themselves under the protection of the Turks than submit to the imperialists, unless their grievances are redressed. It is good fortune for the emperor that the Grand Signior is not of a turbulent spirit, or else that the condition of his affairs does not permit him to hearken to the proposals that are made unto him on the part of the Hungarians; for otherwise I should look upon Hungary to be in great danger of being dismembered from the hereditary dominions. The horse of the Hungarians look very well, and their generals seem confident that they shall be able to cope with the German cavalry; but they seem not to expect the same firmness and resolution from their infantry till they are used to arms and fighting a year longer. Time will shew whether their opinion be well grounded; but I must tell you, that they will be attacked with more vigour than ever, and that their best generals come very short of Count Staremberg in experience and capacity.

“Having mentioned,” thus continues the annalist, “the Hungarian letters to the Queen of Great Britain and the States-general, that to the States you may take as follows; but what maxim our statesmen go upon, *that the other to the queen, as well as many the like pieces, which I should think would much redound to the glory of the nation, are not made public, I do not understand.*

“HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,—The generous sentiments which have prompted your High Mightinesses to endeavour to procure a happy peace for the Hun-

garian nation having wrought in us a just acknowledgment, I joyfully embrace this occasion gratefully to render your High Mightinesses my own most humble thanks, and with them those of the confederated estates, of whom I am the leader and the chief. It is certain that the sole aim which I and the Hungarian nation proposed to ourselves, namely, to recover our just and reasonable liberty, founded on the laws of the kingdom, by taking arms against those who had long sought to oppress us under the yoke of arbitrary power, could never be more powerfully seconded than by the mediation of your High Mightinesses and of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain; because no government in the world better knows the value of liberty than your High Mightinesses, who have at all times made use of the force God has put into your hands to maintain it.

“We flattered ourselves with the pleasing hopes, that a lasting peace would be the issue of that mediation, having to do with a prince who, as for his own person, was not the author of our past calamities, who has given us no less frequent assurances of his affection than of his sincere desire of peace, and who has so great obligations to your High Mightinesses and Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, that we had ground to believe he could refuse you nothing.

“These considerations had so thoroughly rooted out of our hearts all distrust, and produced in us so perfect a disposition to facilitate the negotiation of peace, under an auspicious mediation, which we esteemed our greatest happiness, that we thought it impossible the treaty should not be carried on to a happier issue.

“But I find myself constrained to acquaint your Mightinesses, with too real grief, that hardly had we begun to treat when we perceived that the adverse

party pretended rather to prescribe us hard laws than agree with us on conditions that might be deemed equitable on both sides. For his Imperial Majesty having returned an answer to our propositions, in which he referred almost all the essential points to a Diet, we had no time allowed us to make a reply; but as if the peace was to be founded on our despair, not in our confidence in the emperor and our willing compliance, the imperial court has forced us to betake ourselves again to arms, refusing to grant the least prolongation of the armistice beyond the 24th of July, notwithstanding all the instances made to them to that purpose by the ministers of your High Mightinesses and of the Queen of Great Britain, whose endeavours we cannot sufficiently commend, and of whose equity we are so fully persuaded that we dare trust the faithful report they will make to your High Mightinesses and Her Majesty, will shew that the true causes of the unhappy rupture of the treaty were the violent councils of some of the emperor's ministers, whose sincerity and maxims are thereby become more suspected to us than ever.

“We think ourselves happy that we can allege the just grounds of our complaints to potentates whose virtues make them deservedly admired by the whole universe; and if our arms have occasioned some diversion of those of your High Mightinesses, and of the Queen of Great Britain, it is our much harder lot to be exposed to the fatal effects of the victorious arms of potentates, whose power and valour we revere as much as we prize their mediation, since their conquests increase the pride of our enemies, and contribute to our oppression, by drawing upon us troops from Bavaria and the empire.

“But we put our confidence in God, and in the jus-

tice of our cause, which has no other prospect than the maintaining of the most sacred laws of the kingdom. I cannot, without extreme regret, resolve to have recourse to means that will engage me anew to spill the blood of my fellow-countrymen, after having endeavoured with so much sincerity, and at the expense even of my dignity, to second the generous intentions of your High Mightinesses; though the infractions of our laws, the violence done to our persons and liberties, the rivers of innocent blood shed, under the reign of our late emperor, which have been set forth in all their horror in my manifestoes, and the contempt that is still had at this very time for our most sincere wishes for peace, are a sufficient justification of our arms to all those who have any sense of honour and equity. And as your High Mightinesses cannot but be touched with our misfortune, we beseech you to grant us your powerful assistance, and to interpose more effectual good offices than your former, to procure peace for a nation so unjustly distressed, which recommends itself to the continuance of your favour, and begs you not to abandon him who is with all due sentiments of respect."

Now let us hear the English envoy's speech made to the emperor on the 1st of August 1706, immediately after his return from Hungary, a speech which, besides indicating the compassion of that diplomatist for Hungary, will more clearly show what the Viennese court meant by availing itself of the English and Dutch mediation:—

"Sire,—We think it our duty to give your imperial majesty a succinct account by what means the negotiation that was committed to us came to have no effect. We have, on several occasions, represented to the imperial commissioners, and at last to your Ma-

jesty yourself, that a prolongation of the armistice was absolutely necessary for disposing the Transylvanians to recede from their pretensions, and for carrying on the negotiations to a happy issue. But your Imperial Majesty having been pleased to signify to us that you would admit of no expedient in regard to Transylvania, but would have the government of that province remain on the same footing it was at the time of the peace of Carlowitz, and that without ruining your army in Transylvania, and losing the benefit of this campaign, your Majesty could by no means consent to a prolongation of the armistice; nothing remained for us to do but deliver that double negative to the Hungarians, whereupon they declared they were extremely sorry to see the negotiations broken off in that manner, when it was in so hopeful a way. We are in conscience and honour obliged to tell your Majesty, that we never saw so favourable a conjuncture for peace as at the time when we were obliged to come to that extremity. Rakoczy, for his own part, had consented that no more mention should be made of him with regard to Transylvania, and was going to call a diet of the Estates of Hungary at Szechen, having actually signed the writs for that purpose, to try whether means could be found to dissolve the confederacy of the Hungarians with the Transylvanians, and to prevail upon the latter, upon certain moderate conditions, to submit to the regency which your Majesty has resolved to establish in their country. So, likewise, Count Berzseny has shown extreme concern at this rupture, for of late he carried himself in such a manner as showed he earnestly wished for peace. Also the deputies of the Hungarians, with whom we used to treat at *Turnau*, could not refrain from tears, in ex-

pressing their deep sorrow to see us part from them *re infecta*. By this recital, which I have the honour to make to your Majesty, you will judge that the chiefs and the nation were all in the best position that could be desired for an agreement. We dare even assure your Majesty, that for a short prolongation of the armistice, and some moderate expedients, your Majesty would have had the kingdoms of Hungary and Transylvania with greater ease and more ample authority than ever they were possessed by any of your ancestors.

“But, Sire, the representatives of your generals and ministers have deprived us of the honour of serving your Majesty in the happy conclusion of this important affair.”¹

At another juncture it is possible that such representations might have produced the desired effect on the emperor, but now the victory of Ramillies, gained by the Duke of Marlborough, tended only to make Joseph I. less tractable.

Forced to recommence hostilities, Rakoczy's first care was to detach a body of his army to penetrate into Moravia and Silesia, hoping to rouse the Protestant inhabitants of these provinces, laid low ever since the time of Ferdinand II., and now encouraged by the triumphant progress of the Swedish king through Saxony. This scheme, however, failed. With the renewal of operations on both parts, the whole of Hungary, including the remotest parts of Transylvania, again felt all the miseries of war; and while the imperial generals, Rabutin and Heisler, ravaged the provinces of Hungary, Karoly and Bercseny struck terror

¹ *A Complete History of Europe, or a View of the Affairs thereof, Civil and Military, for the year 1706.* London, 1707.

into the inhabitants of the Austrian dominions, whither they easily penetrated, but without gaining thereby any substantial advantage over the enemy. The courage of the people soon slackened at the sight of an already four years' unavailing struggle, and the final issue of which seemed much to depend on the results of the great European war. Several circumstances, however, induced the Hungarian confederates to assume a bolder position, in spite of the undecided results attending their military operations. The King of France, to excuse his negligence in not fulfilling the stipulations entered into with Rakoczy, alleged the present dependent condition of the Hungarians, who had hitherto hesitated publicly to renounce their allegiance to Austria, and with whom being still regarded as, in the eyes of the world, Austrian subjects, he, so was it intimated, was unable to enter into any formal treaty. This was a strong diplomatic argument for the confederates for deciding upon the dethronization of the Austrian dynasty, especially as they were besides, at the same time, assured of the assistance of Peter the Great, who endeavoured to make Rakoczy king of Poland.¹ Thus

¹ The advances made by the Czar were, from the very beginning, calculated to increase the perplexity of Rakoczy, who placed more confidence in his avowed friend, Charles XII. of Sweden, and from whom it was evidently the chief purpose of the Czar to estrange him. Rakoczy, in referring (see "*Memoires de Prince Rakoczy*," added to the "*Histoire de la Revolution de Hongrie*," p. 127,) to the consternation the king of Sweden's progress through Saxony had caused in Vienna, expresses his opinion that the sudden retreat of Charles to Poland was owing to the Swedish general, Pesser, having been gained by English money. Smollet, however, attributes this unexpected change of operations of the Swedish king to the flattering letter of Queen Anne, accompanied with the still greater flatteries of the Duke of Marlborough, who personally handed it to Charles at Leipsic.

met the assembly of Onod in 1707, which proclaimed the independence of Hungary. It is perhaps needless to say that the Hungarians were subsequently forsaken both by France and Russia, and doomed to fight their battle single-handed; while, on the other hand, the emperor was soon enabled to withdraw a part of the Danish auxiliary troops from the Rhine to operate on the shores of the Theiss. Taking the field with increased numbers, the fortune of war decidedly turned in favour of the imperialists, in consequence of which numerous families, to escape their fury, left their abodes to seek shelter in the national camp; a circumstance which, besides clogging the military movements, contributed to discourage the army, and spread general consternation. To all these discouraging events and disappointments was soon added the influence of the see of Rome, now reconciled to Joseph's interests. In the epistles issued by Clement XI., his holiness strongly exhorted the Hungarian clergy to abandon the cause of the confederates, empowering, besides, the archbishop of Gran to excommunicate all who refused to pay homage to the emperor. In former times the Hungarians laughed at the power of Rome, and scorned the fulminations of the pope, but now it was otherwise; the Protestants, as was seen, became reduced to a small part of the population, while the spiritual, and a few of the temporal lords, urged by bigotry and fanaticism, succeeded likewise in intimidating and corrupting the sound, bold minds of the people at large. The sooner to effect an accommodation, regarded now by the emperor as a matter of no difficulty, he nominated John Palfy chief commander of the Austrian forces in Hungary, and invested him with full power to treat with the Confederates. Rakoczy was soon per-

suaded by General Palfy to state his grievances and demands to the emperor, and accordingly assembled some of the Confederates at Salank, a village near Münkacs. The prince submitted to the decision of those whom he convoked the following question :— *Whether they thought it better that he should throw himself into the fortress, there to await the issue of the negotiations, or go in person to solicit the assistance promised by the Czar?* The Confederates pronounced for the latter alternative, and Rakoczy accordingly set out for Poland (1710). Before his departure, the chief command of the troops was entrusted to Karoly, who, tired of Rakoczy's prolonged and useless absence in Poland, assembled the nobles at Szathmar, and concluded, in 1711, a peace known as the Treaty of Szathmar. By this treaty the emperor engaged to redress all grievances, civil and religious, promising, besides, amnesty to all the adherents of Rakoczy, as well as the restitution of many properties illegally confiscated. Rakoczy protested from Poland against the peace concluded by Karoly; but of what effect could be the censure and remonstrance of a leader who, in the most critical emergency, had left the scene of action in quest of foreign assistance, which, he might have foreseen, would never be accorded.

Thus ended the first and second periods of the Hapsburg rule in Hungary. Nearly two hundred years are thus seen to have passed away in rapine and slaughter, the blood of the nation flowing in a hundred different channels, the vine-covered mountains standing desolate, and the wide plains strewn with the bones of the slain. Under the mask of freeing Europe from the Mussulman, Austria brought the mercenaries of almost every European people to break down a

once mighty race which had proved itself a match for the Ottoman power when it was in its fullest vigour. Strange crusaders truly were the Belgiosos, Bastas, and Caraffas, whom the Hapsburgs sent to Hungary under the standard of the Cross! Europe had been willing, up to the days of Rakoczy, to believe that all the hosts sent into that country were designed to destroy the Turks, and the pernicious Hungarians with whom they were repeatedly allied. This last war, however, as has been seen, was commenced and carried on for seven years, by a people driven to despair by the unceasing tyranny of its Christian rulers, and regarded by the Porte with absolute indifference; and still no earnest effort was made by civilized Europe to relieve the unfortunate condition of this ill-starved race; an effort, which at this emergency, was as easy as it would have been successful, if attempted by the maritime powers who professed to mediate. A man with the stern earnestness and determination of a Tököli, would have found it no difficult task to save, under these rather favourable circumstances, the independence of Hungary. But not so the prince Rakoczy. Though prompted to action by a feeling of justice and patriotism, this young prince wanted consistent energy and faith in the final success of his cause, two qualities indispensable in a national leader, and the only infallible tests of his real greatness. No small praise, however, is due to the memory of Rakoczy, who, though brought up by Jesuits, fought for, and proclaimed the religious liberty of the Protestants. Refusing to accept the imperial pardon he betook himself to France, and spent the next four years of his life in that country. Tired of his stay in France, he looked for a last asylum in Turkey, at that time ruled

over by Achmet III. This sultan, it may cursorily be remarked, was entirely engrossed in the intrigues of the harem, and was not to be roused into action either by the favourable opportunity offered to the Porte by Charles XII. of Sweden, or by the Hungarian war. In fact, it was during that time that the Porte began to decline, and Russia to raise its head under Peter the Great, who neglected no effort that might secure for himself the sympathies of the Slavonic tribes living under Turkish rule.¹

¹ Salaberry, vol. iii. p. 78, illustrates most strikingly the apathy of the divan, which turned a deaf ear to the admonition of the vizier Kinperli and Poniatowski, a Polish nobleman and adherent of Charles XII. They accused the Czar of engaging the subjects of the Porte, especially the mountaineers, allied to the Russian by the community of religion, urging upon the sultan to take the field. "Les Monténégrois," says the historian, "sur la renommée des succès d'une peuplade de leur nation contre leurs ennemis communs, avaient envoyé, dans le tems de la paix de Carlowitz, offrir leur alliance à la Russie. La prévoyance de Pierre I., n'avait pas dédaigné depuis des Montagnards dont la haine et la bravoure pouvaient devenir utiles; et sans avoir de dessein fixé ou de but présent, il avait cultivé les germes de cette amitié profitable. Les présents de Pierre I., avaient décoré les Eglises des Monténégrois, ses aumônes avaient été secourir les prêtres grecs jusque dans les cellules du Mont Athos. Ainsi dès-lors, tous les peuples, les uns de même origine, les autres de même religion que les Russes, partageaient la bienveillance de leur nom, l'assurance de leur amitié, l'espérance de leur protection en Epire, en Thessalie, dans la Grèce, dans la Morée."

THIRD PERIOD—1711-1825.

CHAPTER VI.

CHARLES VI.—MARIA THERESA—(1711-1780.)

AFTER the peace of Szathmar, Hungarian history assumes a quite different character. The Hungarians will no more be seen to rise against their Hapsburg monarchs, but on the contrary to save the Austrian empire from the bold and ambitious designs of two of the most warlike princes of Europe, Frederick the Great and Napoleon Buonaparte. It will be seen how, in the midst of the stirring spirit of the present century, so memorable from its mental activity, and the race of giant minds which it had sent forth, Hungary without producing a single man of note lay in a state of deep lethargy; how the privileged classes, entrenching themselves behind the ramparts of feudalism, scorned every idea of progress; farther, how the national feeling and language, vanishing from among the higher classes, were guarded and treasured up by the oppressed and rude, but incorruptible peasants;

finally, how the first spark of national regeneration was kindled in a time of greatest reaction by a few dispersed and unknown literati.

Charles the VI. was crowned king of Hungary under the name of Charles the Third. Immediately after the death of his brother Joseph (1711) he left Spain to receive the imperial unction at Frankfort. Hence he proceeded first to Austria, and then to Presburg to appear at the diet of 1712. Previous to his coronation, Charles swore to observe all the ancient laws and privileges of the country, with the exception of the 31st article of the Golden Bull, pledging himself, further, to incorporate into the mother country all the provinces regained from the Turks, and acknowledging the right of the Hungarian States freely to elect their king after the extinction of the male line of the House of Austria. In consequence of an epidemic disease, the diet was soon dissolved, but met again in 1714. The most important enactments of this assembly were, the reorganization of the Courts of Chancery and Administration; the renewal of the privileges of the towns retaken from the Turks; the election of a palatine in the person of John Palfy, and the assurance of redeeming the districts of the Cumans and Jasiges from the knights of the Teutonic order. Of no less importance was the nomination of commissioners ordered to inquire into the state of properties (*commissiones neo-acquisiticæ*), which had passed into new and illegal hands during the long wars.

In the same year Charles concluded the peace of Radstadt with the king of France, beginning, however, a new war against the Porte, then bent on wresting Morea from the Republic of Venice. The Court of Vienna used all possible means to persuade the Vene-

tian Republic resolutely to resist the aggressions of the Turks, while Eugène began to concentrate his troops in Hungary on the banks of the Danube. The sultan Achmet III., anticipating the design of the imperial general, marched his army across the Save, and, as will be seen, to his own destruction. After a small success gained by Palfy, Eugène routed the Turks at Petervardein, and captured besides nearly all their artillery. Profiting by the general consternation of the Turks, Eugène sent Palfy and the prince of Wurtemberg to lay seige to the fortress of Temesvar, which commands the whole Banat, and which was surrendered by the Turks after a heavy seige. By these repeated disasters the Mussulmans lost all confidence in the success of their arms; and in the year 1717 they opened the gates of Belgrade to the imperial army. The present campaign paved the way for the peace of Passarowitz, a little town in Servia, a peace concluded between the Port and the Emperor in 1718. In virtue of the provisions of this treaty, the Porte abandoned the Banat, the fortress of Belgrade, and a part of Bosnia, on the hither side of the Unna, promising besides the free navigation of the Danube to the people of the Austrian empire.

These last victories, gained over the Turks, with the loss of much Hungarian blood, were far from inducing the Emperor to a strict observance of the last acts of the diet. Instead of being incorporated into the kingdom, the parts reconquered from the Turks were divided into seventeen districts, colonized without the concurrence of the Hungarian States, and directly governed by the court of Vienna. More flagrant, however, were the oppressions exercised on the protestants. Protestant orphans were in many instances

put by force under Catholic guardians ; Catholic priests forced their way to the death-bed of protestants, while the formula of the oath required of those who entered on public offices, excluded the protestant from participation in public affairs. Printing offices belonging to protestants were closed, the use of their books interdicted, while a bigotted censorship was instituted at Presburg to take cognisance of all publications. In short, the Catholic bishops forced the protestants to submit family disputes to the decision of their tribunals ; while all those towns that were reconquered from the Turks, and where protestantism spread without any restraint, were bereft of hundreds of their churches, and were besides obliged to build Catholic sanctuaries and schools.¹

In the meantime, Charles VI., who had no male offspring, was endeavouring to secure to the female branch of the Hapsburg House the succession to the Hungarian throne. With this view he convoked the diet in 1722. The archbishop Csaky, the staunchest supporter of the emperor's interest, was not negligent in proving the good results to be expected from the proposed change in the succession. The States soon made up their mind, and conferred the right of succession to the crown of St Stephen, even on the female descendants of the Hapsburg dynasty. This compact is known by the name of the Pragmatic Sanction.

In the meantime new discontents arose in Hungary, caused partly by the rapacity of the foreign troops, and partly by the restrictions laid on the exportation of

¹ *Lampe*, Hist. Eccles. Hungar., pages 519 and 541, describes the proceedings of the Commission of Pesth, instituted by the king to investigate the grievance of the protestants in 1721.

Hungarian raw produce, the only important branch of interchange with foreign countries. The diet of 1728 loudly remonstrated against those proceedings, and such a line of policy; but it was soon dissolved by the king amidst the general discontent of the country. A few years later Charles embarked in a new war with the Porte, instigated to it by Anne, Empress of Russia. But this war, which was carried on for three years, and again cost Hungary much money and blood, brought only shame on the court of Vienna, and contributed to reduce the territory of the Hungarian kingdom. The disastrous issue of this war, due in good part to the orders and counter-orders of the Viennese council, was mainly caused by the cowardice of general Neuperg, who surrendered Belgrade to the Turks. By the treaty concluded in 1739, known by the name of that fortress, Austria abandoned Servia to the Porte, a part of Bosnia, in addition to the above-mentioned stronghold, in the victorious defence of which so much Hungarian blood had been shed before the Hapsburg rule began in Hungary. Soon after the conclusion of this peace Charles died. His reign of nearly eighteen years, though more peaceful and less arbitrary than that of his predecessors, was still far from producing any change, for the better, either in the physical or mental state of the population. The idle pageantry of the Viennese court was the means of attaching to the emperor many of the Hungarian magnates, who were ready to surrender their independence for the pleasure of mingling with his hundreds of chamberlains and stewards, and forgot the interests of their country amidst the gorgeous processions of the knights of the Golden Fleece, and the other idle fêtes in which this emperor so much delighted. Nor was there a visible

change in the state of the spiritual lords. Their fanatic zeal, though somewhat softened, was continually on the alert; and, while they hurled their fulminations against the heretics, they little scrupled to drive their serfs on Sundays and holidays to their usual labour.

No sooner did Maria-Theresa hasten from Florence to Vienna to attend the death-bed of her father, than she received the homage of the Austrian State (1740). Having notified to the states of Hungary her accession to the throne, the young empress received expressions of undivided allegiance from all the counties of the Hungarian kingdom. She accordingly issued writs for the meeting of the Diet, accompanied with assurances of her earnest desire to heal the wounds and fulfil the wishes of the nation. The embarrassments of the Austrian princess, at the beginning of her reign, are too well-known to need here particular recapitulation. Threatened by her immediate neighbours, Frederick, king of Prussia, and Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, she had no less to fear France, which, then ruled by Cardinal Fleury, was ready to fan the flame against the house of Austria. In short, almost all the princes of Europe were either actively or passively arrayed against her; and even the maritime powers, forgetting the Pragmatic Sanction, which they had ratified, looked silently at the dangers gathering over the head of this resolute and beautiful queen.

In the midst of all these evil forebodings, Maria-Theresa bore a son, on the 13th of March 1741, a month before the diet assembled at Presburg. The Hungarian states commenced the business with the enumeration of their grievances, demanding the independence of the courts of justice and administration, the incor-

poration of the provinces recovered from the Turks with the Hungarian crown, the strict observance of the privileges of the protestants, as well as a general confirmation of all the laws and rights of the country. The queen, who had repaired to Presburg, was not sparing in solemn promises, after which the diet proceeded to the election of a palatine from among four candidates, two of whom were according to law catholics, and the other two protestants. This election being over Maria-Theresa received the royal unction on the 25th June from the Archbishop of Gran.

In the meantime Frederick the Great, who inherited from his father a full treasury and a large disciplined army, broke into Silesia, where he received the homage of the protestants, looking upon him as their deliverer. The Hungarian queen, on the contrary, found at the death of Charles a broken, half-disorganised army, Bohemia and Moravia disaffected, and the Italian provinces threatened by Spain. Apprised at Presburg of the approach of the Bavarians, she all at once entered the Diet, just resounding with the complaints of the states against manifold abuses. With the crown of St Stephen on her head, and her infant in her trembling arms, the youthful queen, clad in mourning, ascended the tribune, and in a tremulous voice, rendered the more touching by the paleness diffused over her usually blooming cheeks, poured forth in elegant Latin the tale of her distressed condition, pointing, in particular, to the progress already made by the Elector of Bavaria, and to the danger of losing the oldest dominions of her ancestors; exclaiming, in conclusion, that if not saved by her beloved Hungarians, she, and the little infant whom they now beheld, might soon be reduced to a state of destitution. Such a scene presented in its

awful reality, by so charming a princess, would have moved even the most indifferent audience; nor could it fail to excite wild outbursts of enthusiasm in the sensitive minds of the proud and warlike Hungarians. The moaning accents of the distressed female were instantly hushed by the clash of the swords of the deputies, who exultingly exclaimed, "Our blood and life for our *king Maria-Theresa!*" The *insurrection*, as the army of the nobles was termed, was soon organized. To the light hussars were added nine foot regiments, besides a number of non-nobles and pandours (a sort of county militia), furnished by all the provinces of Hungary. As the treasury in Vienna was empty, the nobles provided all the equipments and arms at their own expense, many of them offering their jewellery when needful. These troops soon marched into Austria, in consequence of which the Gallo-Bavarian army, already master of Linz, halted in its way to the Austrian capital. Having joined the rest of the Austrian army, the Hungarians were placed under the command of the Duke Charles of Lorraine, a part of whose troops shut up the French general Belleilse in Prague; while another body, after having compelled Segur to surrender Linz, soon advanced into the heart of Bavaria. Frederick, afraid of the success of the Austrians, again took the field after a short armistice, and obtained a long contested victory at Czaslaw against the Duke of Lorraine (1742). This victory of the Prussian king was followed by the peace of Breslau, by which Frederick was acknowledged master of lower Silesia. It is needless to say that neither the Prussian king nor Maria-Theresa were satisfied with this agreement, and that each of them was only thinking of gaining time for a more vigorous renewal of the war.

While the Earl of Stanhope and the Duke of Bedford, representing one party of the English parliament, protested against the policy of George II., who now decided to send Hanoverian troops for the support of Maria-Theresa, and while they and many other noble lords tried to prove, that Britain was insufficient to raise the sunken power of the house of Austria, the Hungarians were ready for new sacrifices.¹ The single appeal made by the palatine Palfy was sufficient to bring thousands of new volunteers into the field; and the Hungarians, commanded by Karoly and Beleznay, soon shared the victory of Dettingen with George II. But, though the campaign of 1743 proved successful for Maria-Theresa, new complications of a more threatening character soon arose. Frederick the Great now united his interests with those of the Elector of Bavaria, who was crowned Emperor of Germany under the name of Charles VII.; while France decided upon proclaiming war against Austria and her allies. The Hungarian queen again convoked the Diet (1744), when the States voted a fresh army of 25,000 men, to be equipped and paid at their expense. The war was thus carried on for four years longer, till various circumstances, and especially the death of the Elector of Bavaria, brought it to a conclusion in 1748. By the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, concluded in the same year, the Hungarian queen

¹ It is rather strange to find that the noble lords of that time, in speaking of Maria-Theresa, always used the expression of Queen of Hungary, or Queen of the Hungarians, an expression made use of in the public treaties concluded between George II. and that monarch, while in 1848 the learned lords seemed to have entirely forgotten whether there was a Hungary and a Hungarian King. All they professed to know was Austria and its emperor.

renounced her right to Silesia in favour of the King of Prussia; while some Italian provinces, as Parma and Piacenza, were abandoned to Philip of Spain.

This peace enabled Maria-Theresa to turn her attention to the social state of Hungary, and to take measures for the promotion of education and general culture. The more easily to gain the sympathy of the people, the queen spent a great part of her time in Hungary, taking up her abode in the towns of Presburg and Buda. The latter, which had lain waste since the expulsion of the Turks, assumed a brighter appearance from the residence of the queen, who was sagacious enough to make her infant son, the Archduke Joseph, wear the Hungarian costume, learn the Hungarian tongue, and be placed under the guardianship of Prince Charles Batthyany. Hence it happened, that a few years later the Hungarians were again ready to march to her rescue with unabated enthusiasm. The diet of 1751, however, was far from being satisfied with her rule. The chief grounds of complaints raised against her policy, were, the rules of the Austrian toll-system, which greatly checked the exportation of Hungarian products, as well as the state of the Cumans and Jasiges, not yet restored to their former liberties. Without getting any redress the diet was dissolved, after having elected Louis Batthyany palatine. In the meantime Maria-Theresa could not forget the loss of Silesia; and instigated by her all-potent minister Kaunitz, she prepared for a new war. With the assistance of Madame de Pompadour, the real ruler of France under Louis XV., the Austrian minister succeeded in concluding an alliance between these two countries, to be acceded to by Elizabeth, Czarina of Russia; the object of this alliance was to

efface Prussia from the map of Europe.¹ Having anticipated the secret intrigues and preparations, Frederick the Great broke suddenly into Saxony, and soon after defeated the Austrians at Lowositz. The Hungarian queen, as usual, had again recourse to the Diet, when the States, besides voting new subsidies, ordained another levy of 40,000 men. The palatine Louis Batthyany went so far in his zeal as to equip several squadrons at his own expense, an example which found imitators.² It would be superfluous to narrate here the events of the Seven Year's War, brought to a termination in 1763; but to show the inconstant operations of diplomacy, it may be mentioned, that during these bloody conflicts English and Hungarian blood was now shed under different standards, England taking, in this second part of the war between Austria and Prussia, the side of the latter. Nor did the assistance which George II. now gave to the adversary of Austria influence in any way the state of Hungary, which had suffered so much from the victories that the Duke of Marlborough had half a century before gained for the Austrian emperor.

In 1764, the queen again convoked the Diet, though amid loud discontent, in consequence of many undressed grievances. The statute issued by that queen for the mitigation of the feudal institutions, and known by the name of *Urbarium*, contains the following judi-

¹ This treaty was signed at Versailles, 1756, and was called by the witty king of Prussia *l'alliance des trois cotillions*, from its being the work of women. He, however, soon found half a million of arms ready to attempt his destruction.

² Some of the readers will perhaps remember how the zeal of this palatine was repaid by Francis Joseph on his descendant and namesake, the prime minister of Hungary, in 1848.

cious provisions : 1st, The serf was allowed to leave his master if dissatisfied with his condition ; 2d, The labour, to be done by the serfs, was fixed with due regard to the extent of their tenures ; 3d, The peasants were licensed to retail their wines ; 4th, The children of the peasants were declared competent to fill the public offices of teachers, etc. ; and, furthermore, a peasant who had earned for himself the title of nobility, might receive his patent independent of the sanction of his feudal master. These reforms, though slight in themselves, were great in reference to the time when they were effected, and are more creditable to the queen from the circumstance of her having introduced them in opposition to the will of the nobles. The abolition of the tolls between the different parts of Hungary itself, as well as the patents given to foreign trading companies, were the means of encouraging the commerce of the country, if, indeed, it deserve that name. For it must be remembered that at that time Hungary was nothing more than a cattle-breeding country, as is evident from the thousands of vast purztas (pasturing plains) which existed then. The breed of live stock, especially of sheep, was also much improved by the measures of the queen, who introduced into Hungary the finest specimens of Spanish stock.

The rule of Maria-Theresa was thus, upon the whole, beneficial for Hungary, despite her disregard of many laws of the country, and the fact that she was strongly influenced by the insinuations of her Jesuitical confessors, which led her to adopt many oppressive measures against the Protestants. Another reform of no less importance, introduced by this queen, was the organization of the military frontiers, begun by her father, Charles VI. The number of the border regiments

in Croatia, Slavonia, the Banat, and Transylvania, amounted to twenty-two, and constituted a force of 60,000 men. But the crowning act of Maria-Theresa in the way of military reform, was the establishment of the Hungarian Guard, a measure which, though promising much for Hungary, ended in merely furnishing an idle pageant for the court of Vienna. Under these circumstances Maria-Theresa continued her reign till her death in 1780.¹

¹ One of her last acts was to declare Transylvania a separate principality, ruled by its own diet and municipal authorities, and entirely independent of the Hungarian government.

CHAPTER VII.

JOSEPH II.—LEOPOLD II.—CORONATION OF FRANCIS I.
—THE FRENCH WAR—(1780-1825.)

JOSEPH II., who acted as a co-regent in Hungary before the death of his mother, assumed the reins of government in 1780. This monarch, more enlightened than his mother, and bent on the entire re-organization of the Austrian empire, was carried away by his zeal to many acts of imprudence and tyranny. It would, however, be unjust to withhold from Joseph a place among well-intentioned rulers, and to deny his claims to the title of a most philosophic prince. Unlike the rest of the Austrian monarchs, Joseph did not confine himself to the narrow sphere of the court-life, but seized every opportunity to improve his intellect by observing actual life. With his knapsack on his shoulders, Joseph made a tour incognito to France, and did not neglect, while there, to visit the distressed and philosophic author of the *Contrat Sociale*. From France he proceeded to Italy, to feed his eyes on the arts and monuments of the city of the Cæsars; and, after returning home, he undertook a journey to the distant north. It was, indeed, no common sight to see a Hapsburg monarch proclaim philosophy the lawgiver of his state, earnestly endeavour to suppress fanaticism, prejudice, and slavery of mind, and attempt to

break down the influence of priests and Jesuits; and, as he himself expressed it, to turn the army of monks into useful citizens. Some may call Joseph II. a vain philosophical pedant, others a heartless despot, but he was more than the former, and quite the reverse of the latter. There was, on many occasions, a manifest earnestness in all his actions and writings, which displayed itself more especially in his acts relating to ecclesiastical reforms. In his letter to Cardinal Herzan, his ambassador at the see of Rome, Joseph speaks thus, in allusion to his intended measures: "Austria will receive a new form, the importance of the *ulemas*¹ will be restrained, and the rights of the crown will regain their dignity. I must remove from the sphere of religion some things which never belonged thereto. Despising superstition and the Sadducees, I will free my people from them. I will therefore dismiss the monks, break up their cloisters, and subject them to the bishops of the dioceses. I know that in Rome they will exclaim against this invasion, and say, 'the glory of Israel is fallen,' and that they will complain that I have separated religion from philosophy, and be angry at my undertaking all their measures without leave of the servant of the servants of God." Such language as this, intended, too, for the ears of the pope, could only have been uttered by a man of bold and enlightened understanding. Still, it must be acknowledged that Joseph's earnestness and cravings for universal reform led him many a time to adopt measures, which seemed to be rather the results of a deep-rooted and settled caprice than the suggestions of calm conviction. No doubt, in attempting the introduction of his sweeping

¹ The Turkish appellation for the ecclesiastical order.

reforms, Joseph was actuated by a feeling of envy of the popularity which the great king of Prussia enjoyed, and thus overshot the mark by sometimes trying his hand at impossibilities. But in no country was the violence and irrationality of some of his measures so deeply felt as in Hungary. After the long wars that passed over that country, nothing but the skeleton of the county institutions remained, which, though offering no security to the so-called *plebs*, were zealously guarded by the privileged classes, as the most effective check on the crown. And it was the demolition of these institutions that Joseph first determined upon. With his brain swollen with the idea of moulding Austria into one uniform empire, he forgot that its very heterogeneity was a sufficient reason for not attempting to do so. Disdaining to be crowned by the Hungarian states, Joseph caused the crown of St Stephen arbitrarily to be brought to Vienna, while he issued edicts to the purport that, within a short time, the German tongue should be exclusively used in the diets, the courts of administration and justice, not even excepting the county courts, and in all the public schools. In short, Joseph made a *tabula rasa* of the Hungarian institutions, dividing the whole kingdom into ten districts, ruled by regal commissioners, instead of the independent county magistrates. True, that he intended the abolition of feudalism, and to make all his subjects, without distinction of ranks, enjoy equal rights and liberties. The exorbitant taxes, however, levied by arbitrary edicts, as well as the rapid transformation of the whole mechanism of the state, called forth loud complaints, both from the feudal lords and the peasantry. The monarch was thus seen to commit acts of violence, while he professed to be the im-

partial benefactor of all his subjects; and to use arbitrary rule in accomplishing what he thought reasonable and philosophic.

The counties, as might have been expected, opposed all the weight of passive resistance to the measures of Joseph, and their remonstrances may well serve to show the mental state of the nobles of that time. Some of the more backward counties poured out litanies at the abolition of the Latin tongue, in which, as they observed, the national code had been drawn up, which, from this circumstance, had become endeared to the people. The county of Zemplin, however, expressed its sentiments in a manner indicating a higher state of intelligence. "Why," thus remonstrated the authorities of this county, "substitute the German language, which is spoken by the smallest number of the inhabitants of the Austrian monarchy, and thereby attempt to convert our county-houses into mute assemblies? On what grounds exclude from every share in public business those warriors who erewhile returned home from the wars of Austria, covered with scars and wounds, and too old to learn a foreign jargon? Even Timur-Beg, the conqueror of China, thought it better to assume the language of those he had subdued. Why then force upon a people the use of a language which is not the fittest for the national culture and science?" Like discontent was exhibited in the other privileged districts, such as those of the Cumans and Jasiges; and in a short time the whole country seemed to stand on the brink of a new war. Joseph, however, felt little anxiety about the discontent, and continued the more vigorously to prosecute his measures. Much credit, indeed, is due to this prince for the patience with which he tried to convince his people of the justice of his

proceedings. In the letters¹ he addressed to the Hungarian chancellor Charles Palfy, Joseph tried to persuade him of the anomalous nature of the county institutions, and of the justice of causing the nobles to share the burdens of the State. "The privileges and liberties of nobles," says the Hapsburg prince, "do not consist in the right of contributing nothing to the burdens of the State; on the contrary, in some countries, as for example England and Holland, they pay more taxes than any other class. In respect to the properties, the noblemen simply represent the cultivator or the grazier; in towns, the citizen and the consumer; and on the roads and passages, the traveller and passenger." But, though his other arguments were preposterous, it was still no common phenomenon to see a Hapsburg prince attempting to convince his subjects by continual argumentation and philosophical reasoning. In the midst of these hasty reforms Joseph engaged in war with the Porte, at the instigation of the ambitious Catherine, empress of Russia; and in addition to the already exorbitant taxes, Hungary was anew forced to supply fresh subsidies and men for the prosecution of this war. But if the obstinacy and arbitrary conduct of the Austrian monarch were little influenced by the loud complaints of his Hungarian subjects, they were compelled to give

¹ See Briefe von Joseph dem Zweiten. Leipsick (1828). In the six letters addressed to the Hungarian chancellor, this prince tries to prove the usefulness of the substitution of commissaries for the county authorities, expressing at the same time his displeasure at the influence hitherto exercised by the counties. It is needless to say, that here his philosophic argumentation failed.

way before the rebellion which now broke out in the Netherlands.

The Brabants, under the dominion of Austria, treated in a like arbitrary manner, and bereft of all their ancient institutions, determined to appeal to arms, disdaining the overtures of peace and flattering promises made at this threatening moment by the court of Vienna. Joseph undoubtedly foresaw the probability of a similar rising in Hungary, and therefore issued an edict, by which he cancelled all his former regulations (1790). The whole country all at once resounded with shouts of joy, enhanced by the restoration of the Hungarian Palladium, the crown of St Stephen. The philosopher-king died soon after, and, as may be seen, at a moment most disadvantageous for his fame; the thousands of edicts which he himself wrote, and the vast number of statutes which, with much pains, he framed, died with him, and were soon entirely forgotten. Had he lived longer, it is probable, that, having been forced by circumstances to abandon his wayward policy, this prince might have led the nations of the Austrian empire into the path of national progress and prosperity; but, as it happened, he carried to the grave the consciousness of the discontent of his subjects, and the complete failure of his projects.

Leopold II., the younger brother of Joseph and Duke of Tuscany, was immediately crowned king of Hungary by the diet of Presburg. To efface all remembrance of the discontent caused by his predecessor Leopold readily sanctioned many fundamental laws, the chief of which are the following:—1st. After the decease of the reigning monarch his successor is bound to cause himself to be crowned by the States within

the space of six months. 2*d.* Henceforth not only the propositions of the crown, but also the grievances of the nation are to be discussed in the diet. 3*d.* Hungary and all its dependencies shall never be governed in conformity with the rest of the Austrian provinces, but by its own laws, and according to its own customs, agreeably to its constitution.¹ 4*th.* The enactment and abrogation of laws belongs to both the king and the states. 5*th.* The diet is to be convoked at least once in three years. 6*th.* Subsidies cannot be voted but for the time of the legal interval between one diet and the other. 7*th.* No troops shall be levied without the consent of the diet. 8*th.* The Hungarian court of administration, which has under its power Croatia, Dalmatia, and Sclavonia, shall be entirely independent of that of Vienna. 9*th.* No foreign idiom shall ever be introduced into the courts of administration and justice, but care shall be taken to cultivate the Hungarian idiom, which is to take the place of the Latin. 10*th.* The protestants shall henceforth enjoy their rights, be permitted to build steepled churches, admitted to public offices without being obliged to swear by the "*holy virgin*,"² &c. It is thus seen that, as regards written

¹ This article, which forms the groundwork of the renewed right of Hungary in 1791, is in the original conceived in the following terms:—*Hungaria cum partibus adnexis sit regnum liberum, et relate ad totam legalem regiminis formam; huc intellectis quibusvis dicasteriis suis;—independens, idest, nulli alteri regno aut populo obnoxium, sed propriam habens consistentiam et constitutionem, proinde a legitimè coronato rege suo, adeoque etiam a sua Majes. Sac. successoribusque ejus Hungariæ Regibus, propriis legibus et consuetudinibus, non vero ad normam aliarum provinciarum dictantibus (id. art. III. 1715, idem 8 et 11, 1741) regendum et gubernandum.*

² It must be observed, that this confirmation of the privileges

guarantees, the States provided well for the country, though the attempt to realise these enactments soon afterwards became the means of increased dissension between Hungary and the court of Vienna. Leopold died in the year 1792, and was succeeded by his brother Francis I. Determined to break down the National Assembly of Paris, and to crush along with it the great revolutionary principle, Francis resolved to act in conformity with the conference of Pilnitz. Wanting Hungarian money and arms this new king of Hungary convoked, from 1792 to 1807, no less than five diets;—a fine prognostic that of a constitutional monarchy, though here, as will be seen, its tendency was of a different nature. With an eye to nothing beyond their feudal privileges, the Hungarian States, with scarcely more than a single exception, proved servile tools to a narrow-minded and cold-hearted monarch, in voting one subsidy after another. In this policy they were actuated, besides, by a fear that the revolutionary principle might find its way to the shores of the Danube. Not contented with the subsidies already voted, Francis convoked a second diet in 1796, informing the States of the danger which threatened the throne, and with it, the clergy and nobility. The nature of this appeal, along with some flattering assurances, soon produced the desired effect. The States again voted new troops and large supplies of provisions at almost a nominal price. In 1805 the new appeals of the crown were answered by a general rise of the nobles, commonly termed the *insurrection*. Two years

of the protestants referred only to Hungary proper; as in Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, they were still excluded from acquiring landed property or filling public offices.

later new sacrifices were demanded; then, however, the States began to complain against the false coin and bad paper money with which Hungary was inundated, and refused to give new subsidies until these grievances were redressed. The lower house, especially, urged upon the crown to lay before the Diet the real state of the finance of the empire. After idle discussions, both houses (as was wont, in the event of a disagreement) held a conjoint assembly, the result of which was the fulfilment of the royal wishes.¹ In 1808 Francis issued writs for a new diet, professing his desire to have his consort Maria Ludovica crowned. This ceremony being over, the king again appealed to the magnanimity of the nation. To testify his gratitude to the Hungarians the queen promised to give from her private purse a sum of 50,000 florins to aid the projected establishment of a military school at Pesth. But this scheme, forming the only measure of that Diet which bore upon the interests of the country, was destined to exist only in the dietal acts. The building, it is true, was raised, and, in memory of the queen, called Ludoviceum. But it was doomed to stand silent and empty—a monument of the bad faith of the Hapsburgs. The gloom that long hovered over this magnificent edifice was dispelled for a time in the days of 1848 by the fiery Honveds, quartered within its walls. But these warriors, like the institutions of their country, soon passed away as swiftly as the pageant of a dream. The speech made by the king at the con-

¹ According to the official account given by the palatine, the fund which the nobles raised in 1809 amounted to nearly fifteen millions of florins, a similar sum being besides expended for the equipment of the troops by the counties.

clusion of this Diet was overcharged with sentiment, which, however, need excite no great surprise when we call to mind the victories of Buonaparte. "Ye Hungarians," said the king, "ye, who are so dear to my heart, have done all that becomes your national character, and which befits your fidelity and honour. Europe will have an opportunity of learning from your conduct, that we and you are one; that the desire which lies deepest in our hearts is to defend our ancient constitutions with the last drop of our blood. We have been united, are united now, and will remain united. Take what I say as the true sentiment of your king and father, who loves you with paternal tenderness, and who will continue to do so for ever." This pathos of king Francis was almost contemporaneous with the appeal made by the Corsican conqueror to the Hungarians, calling upon them to shake off the Austrian yoke, and to declare themselves independent. The nobles in arms were the first to disdain the flattering advances made by Napoleon, a circumstance the more surprising, as even in Austria proper there was a party which implored the protection of that potentate. In fact, no stronger proof is required to show how deep feudality had struck its roots in Hungary than the total absence of any inclination to listen to the advances of Buonaparte, any intercourse with whom they feared might be the means of introducing some of the new principles into their country. Thus it happened that the French revolution—that prodigious flame of heaven and hell, while it awoke and called into action almost every country of Europe, passed over Hungary like a sick man's dream, a dumb and insipid pantomine. A faint shadow of the influence of the French revolution in Hungary was the existence of a society composed

of a few individuals, named Sigsay, Lazkoviz, Hainozy and Szent Marjay, under the leadership of an abbot named Martinovics, who circulated among themselves a sort of catechism embodying the new ideas of France. The abbot and his friends were soon seized, and after a summary trial, conducted with the utmost secrecy, beheaded on the plain encompassed by the mountains of Buda, afterwards known by the name of the *field of blood*. Nor will these bloody sentences, pronounced by the Septemvir court and the star-chamber of Pesth, fail to prove the vile servility of the judges at that time.

The desperate state of finance to which Austria was reduced by the long wars with France, constrained the king-emperor once more to convoke the Diet in 1811. The propositions made by the crown were to the following effect: as a hundred and sixty millions were required to maintain public credit or the currency of the bank notes, his majesty resolved to reduce the paper money to the fifth part of its nominal value; wherefore the Hungarian states are called upon to guarantee the sum of this fifth part, which would enable his majesty to issue an equivalent of new paper money. This smooth way of announcing a state bankruptcy could not fail to startle the assembled states, who, besides feeling its ruinous effects on the already drained Hungary, branded it as an arbitrary act, and diametrically opposed to the law of 1791, which interdicted the king from ruling Hungary by edicts or patents. It is needless to say, that the king was not much touched by these posthumous lamentations, soon hushed by the dissolution of the Diet. The great European war drawing now to its end, Francis determined not to trouble the Hungarian nobles any more

with his appeals, or to gladden Presburg with his presence; and, entirely re-assured by the congress of Vienna, he ruled Hungary till the year 1825, without having once convened the states, though encountering the most strenuous and threatening opposition from the counties. It was during these years of absolute rule that the spirit of national action began to manifest itself, especially in the department of literature, which will be referred to in the following chapter.

FOURTH PERIOD.—1825-1850.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF FRANCIS I.—
KAZINCZY—COUNT SZECHENY—KÖLCSEY—REVI-
VAL IN LITERATURE AND POLITICS—ACCESSION
OF FERDINAND V.—(1825-1840.)

THE characteristic of the present period is the re-awakening of the national spirit, as manifested in the literature of the country. One of the chief causes of these new manifestations in Hungarian society was undoubtedly the reactionary policy of the crown, which evoked a spirit that otherwise might have remained dormant for a longer time. The modern Hungarian civilization is thus, as it happened with many an unfortunate nation, partly indebted to the denationalizing measures of Joseph II. and the tyranny of Francis I.

The toilsome, unrelenting war against deep-rooted prejudices and inveterate habits was the peculiar characteristic of the few literati who stood up for the cultivation of the Hungarian language, and who, in

unison with a new race of politicians, succeeded in leading the national genius from one step of progress to another, till they caused the feudal institutions, doubly endeared to the nobles by the incessant efforts put forth by the crown for their destruction, to give way to salutary, and by this time indispensable, ameliorations. As the progress in literature took precedence of that in politics, the former will first be glanced at. But before proceeding further, it is well to bring back to recollection the calamities with which the language and general culture of Hungary were visited during the middle ages, and not to forget that the fifteenth century, which was an era of preparation for the modern progress of the rest of Europe, turned Hungary into a battle-field. Nor did the subsequent ages prove more favourable. Like the rule of Charles V. and Philip II. in Spain, the reign of the younger branch of Austria was, during the last three centuries, irrespective of the protracted wars, most detrimental to the spread of science and literature. In Hungary, it is true, the Hapsburgs had not much to destroy; but the deeper were felt the effects of a reign, which alternated between political tyranny and ferocious fanaticism, and struck with the same reckless fury the adherents of national independence and the defenders of religious liberty. The dead Latin, rendered predominant since the time of St Stephen, and zealously cultivated by the clergy and laity, to the almost entire neglect of the living idiom, experienced the first shock from Francis Kazinczy, the founder of modern Hungarian prose. Kazinczy reached the age of manhood at the time of the general effeminacy of the nobles, and when Joseph II. strove to sweep away the last remains of historical and traditionary Hungary. This

latter circumstance, as may be imagined, served only to redouble the energy of Kazinczy in treading the path of literary reform upon which he had determined. To meet the common cry of the shallow pedants who, desirous of hiding their ignorance in a dead idiom, expatiated on the poverty of the Hungarian tongue, Kazinczy began by collecting the numerous expressions which had fallen into disuse, and by purging the native idiom from many Latin words, that had crept into it in the lapse of ages. By the aid of his *neological* powers, he soon astonished his countrymen with productions adorned with all the niceties of grammar and euphony, coupled with variety and elegance in expression. As far back as the year 1788, Kazinczy started a periodical entitled the *Magyar Museum*, the first production of that kind in the Hungarian language. This was, a few years later, followed by another, named the *Orpheus*, which was crowned with equal success. The activity of Kazinczy soon attracted the attention of the government, which saw in the slightest effort at reflection in politics or religion some hidden revolutionary spirit, and thought that from wit and elegance of language there might spring up regicides and demagogues. While living peaceably in the house of his mother, in the county of Zemplin, Kazinczy was seized by an armed force and thrown into prison. The *Regal Court* of Pesth sentenced this man of letters, accused of revolutionary plottings, to death—a sentence which, by special grace, was commuted into seven years' imprisonment (1794–1801). After having spent the days of his captivity in the prisons of Brun, Kufstein, and Munkacs, Kazinczy resumed his task with increased vigour. Of his poetical productions, the most successful are his epigrams and satires,

which were not a little influential in stirring up the slumbering spirit of Hungarian society ; while his prose works, treating chiefly of historical, æsthetic, and philosophical subjects, had no small share in dispelling prejudices and refining the taste.

In order to exhibit the riches of the Hungarian idiom, and improve the national taste by one and the same means, Kazinczy applied with all his might to the translation of foreign classics, and the master creations and beauties of Shakspeare, Ossian, Lessing, and Göethe were soon resounded in the language of Arpad.

The adversaries of the language-reform attempted to throw ridicule on the labours of Kazinczy, by publishing a lampoon entitled *Mondolat* ; but they were soon obliged tacitly to respect a man who, urged on by patriotic feelings, laboured unremittingly to remove the mental inactivity and torpor that lay heavy upon the national body, and who felt convinced that, with the revival and culture of the sonorous native idiom, the people would regain the self-esteem, buoyancy, and openness, which once formed the chief features in their character. Kazinczy was far from being an original or powerful thinker. His powers mainly lay in his aptitude for applying to the taste and opinions of his own country the ideas and general knowledge which he culled from foreign literature. In satire this poet stood above his contemporaries, though he knew not the less how to bestow praise. The attractive and popular manner in which he advanced new rules and theories, was the chief secret of his success ; and though placed in circumstances incomparably more disadvantageous, Kazinczy may be said to have done for Hungarian literature what Herder had already ac-

complished in Germany. Neither public nor private calamities could diminish his activity and ardour, and very justly did he sing of himself—

As firm as youth
I urge my onward way—there is no fear
For honest spirits. Even the fates revere
And recompense—love, minstrelsy, and truth.

Among the more prominent writers and poets belonging to the Kazinczy school, must be mentioned the two Kisfaludis', Berzseny, and especially Kölcsény, the latter being at the same time known as a great political character, and the finest prose writer in the Hungarian language. Alexander Kisfaludi, as lieutenant in the Hungarian Guard, followed the Austrian army into Italy, and after having been taken prisoner by the French in Milan (1796), he was carried to France. The short time he spent in that country was the means of awakening his natural poetical powers, which, after regaining his liberty, and witnessing another campaign on the Rhine, he began to exhibit in his own country, having quitted the Austrian service, and exchanged the sword for the lyre. His first poetical production was a long lyrical poem entitled *The Love of Himfy*, which was soon followed by a series of legends and several historical dramas. In the drama, however, Alexander saw himself surpassed by his brother Charles.

About the beginning of the third decade of the present century the Hungarian language, besides counting many original works both in poetry and prose, sent forth successively a series of productions in the magazines and cyclopædias, thus breaking its way into the different branches of science. As to the poetry, in

particular, it must be allowed that it savoured too much of the ambrosial crumbs of the ancients, only a few pieces being genuine and truly popular, and even these, being generally of a didactic character, were heavy and far inferior to the national songs of a more recent date. A few specimens may suffice to give an idea of the poetical effusions of that time.

SECRET SORROW.

My soul is troubled with an ancient sorrow,
Which grows again anew; and glowing themes,
Gathering afresh, o'ershadow me with dreams
Of a mysterious darkness on the morrow.

I fain would weep, and yet can find no tears—
Naught but the broken sigh and stifled groan;
These are the tenants of my heart alone,
And their deep underminings steal my years.

O that the tears, joy's freshening tears would fall!
They come not to the weak and wounded breast,
They rush both for and from the fount of rest.
If thou art not than marble harder all,
Know that the silent pang, the grief that speaks not,
Is of all woes the deadliest—and to bear
The heart that throbs and burns, while yet it breaks not,
Is worse than death—for death a blessing were.

The author of the poem, named Dayka, who promised much for his country, and enjoyed a great share of popularity, died in the twenty-eighth year of his age. Something more popular and characteristic will be found in the following lines by Vitkovics:—

THE COTTAGER'S SONG.

No elegant palace God raised o'er my head,
 Rich tapestry gave not, nor silk to my bed ;
 But a cottage of peace, and a rude, healthy life,
 And, to crown my enjoyments, a brown, cheerful wife,¹
 And love makes it taste more delightfully sweet.
 When our labours are ended, together we rest,
 And each to the other's bare bosom is prest ;
 The sun rises up, and we rise, full of joy,
 Full of strength, to the busy day's wonted employ.
 Then the spring dawns in green, and the fields smile anew,
 And every fresh flow'ret is dripping with dew ;
 And the song of the lark pours its melodies sweet,
 Like a zephyr of freshness on summer's close heat.
 Then comes the grey vintage—the red grapes we bear,
 And alike of the labour and recompence share.
 The winter puts on its white robes—we retire
 At even—and bend o'er our own cottage fire ;
 My Sari turns round the gay spindle and sings,
 And out of our happiness time makes its wings ;
 I have handicraft labours, and happy the thought,
 For this pay no taxes to Germans² nor aught.
 The Sabbath comes round, and in holiday gear
 I go to God's dwelling, then quietly steer
 To the Kortsma,³ where cheer'd by a wine-loving brother,
 We pledge a full glass, and we laugh with each other ;
 Get warm, and we call on the gipsies to play.
 I know of no care, roll the world as it may ;
 I nothing am owed, and to nobody owe ;
 Hurting none, none will hurt me ; so smiling we go
 On the rude path of life ; when its labours are past,
 Death will find us both ready and cheerful at last.

¹ The expression "brown lad," brown girl," denoting a darkish complexion or dark hair, figure very often in the Hungarian popular songs.

² The word "Germans," in Hungarian "Nemet," means the Austrian, the Germans of Germany being called by the name of their respective countries, as Prussian, Bavarian, and so forth.

³ Inn in Hungarian.

The following poem is one of those numerous songs, the authors of which are unknown, and which, for the most part, originated with the shepherds and herdsmen.

SONG OF THE SHEPHERD OF THE MATRA
MOUNTAIN.

I often laugh contentedly
On the world's evil and its good ;
Far dearer than the world to me
Is this, my mountain solitude.

I eat and drink—my spirit—ease,
No legal squabbles drive away ;
I lay me down at eve in peace,
And joy awakes me when 'tis day.

And every cottage is my home,
And every shepherd is my friend ;
Their wealth is mine—mine theirs—they come
In common bliss, our bliss to blend.

Sweet songs I know are sometimes heard,
But none so sweet, so dear as these,
When the gray thrush, ecstatic bird !
O'er Matra pours its ecstasies.

The robber's plots, the murderer's hands,
Intrude not on our mountain glen ;
Our robbers are the Wolfine bands,
But not the fiercer bands of men.

No sorrows make my visage white,
Or from my cheeks their smiles convey ;
My pipe I kindle with delight,
While round it smoky volumes play.

The noonday sun shines hot above,
Then with my herds I hasten home,
Milk the white ewes to please my love,
And know a sweet reward will come.

Again we seek the hills—I seize
 My *furyla*¹ and wake its song;
 And, scattering music on the breeze,
 I walk my listening sheep among.

Then to the Linden trees I go,
 Each Linden seems to welcome me;
 My body on the turf I throw,
 Where spread the shadows of the tree.

But who is there? My rose, my rose!
 My heart is buried in her breast,
 As in a shrine. O see! she goes
 Clad in her short and modest vest.

Sweet Pere! aye! thou art as sweet
 As is forgiveness; on thy face
 I saw two smiling angels meet,
 Two little loves thy cheeks did grace.

Where art thou wandering—Pere! mine!
 My flocks are scattered widely now;
 For thee I look, for thee I pine;
 Sweet maiden! tell me where art thou!²

Before proceeding to describe the farther development of the Hungarian literature (which, though not accessible to the whole population, speaking as they do, different languages, was yet of deep importance, from its being the language of the nobles, and the so-called *qualified classes*, that is to say, of those who ruled the counties and constituted the diets), the political movement must first be indicated.

¹ The Hungarian shepherd's pipe.

² These translations are taken from Dr Bowring's "Poetry of the Magyars." Considering the difficulties to be met with in translating from an Eastern idiom such as the Hungarian into a Western language, this noble and indefatigable author must be regarded as having accomplished his task with much skill.

Francis I., tired of waging an incessant war with the counties, which strenuously refused to execute his arbitrary ordinances, decided upon summoning a diet in 1825. The convention of the States, after an interval of fourteen years, served to appease the exasperated feelings of the people already on the brink of a new war. In his opening speech the king unhesitatingly adverted to what had taken place during this interval, assuring the States that the unconstitutional acts and the violent measures of that time must not be attributed to him, but to the abuse of power by the officials; and that his earnest desire was henceforth to rule according to law and usage. The *Corpus Juris* of Hungary did not increase in bulk by the proceedings of this Diet, its main object being the revision of the laws of 1791; it derived, however, particular importance from the circumstance of its being connected with the first appearance of Count Stephen Szecheny on the political stage.

Count Stephen, born in 1791, was the son of Count Francis Szecheny, a magnate of much influence. When a youth the count entered the Austrian army during the war against Napoleon, and rose to the rank of a captain in a hussar regiment of the name of Hessen-Homburg. After the restoration of peace, Stephen Szecheny, wearied by the idle monotony of a military life repeatedly applied for leave of absence; spending these intervals in travelling through Europe and the East. Having returned to Austria to join his regiment, he obtained permission to visit Presburg, where the diet had just assembled. Repairing to the upper house, Szecheny took his seat in his capacity of a magnate, and surprised the temporal and spiritual lords, accustomed solely to discuss in barbarous Latin, by a

speech delivered in the Hungarian tongue. This strange proceeding, as may be supposed, could not but call forth censure from the palatine and other high quarters, with an effect, however, the reverse of what was intended. Szecheny immediately made up his mind to quit the military service altogether, and henceforth to devote his time to the welfare of his country. The first opportunity that presented itself during the session of 1825 for evincing his patriotism, was the question about the establishment of a Hungarian Academy of Science,—an idea long entertained by the Hungarian States. The count, when the subject was brought before the Diet, immediately offered his annual income to aid the execution of the design, an act of patriotism which chiefly contributed to the subsequent establishment of this national institution.

After the Diet was over, Szecheny retired into comparative solitude, and spent his time in brooding over schemes of reform, which in 1830 he made public in a pamphlet called *The Credit (A Hitel)*. The cardinal points which the noble count tried to prove were, 1st, The necessity of reform in the laws relating to public credit; 2d, The disadvantages arising to the landlords themselves from the feudal system, and the bad influences accruing to society from the so-called *Jus Aviticitatis*, by which landed property, belonging to nobles, might be reclaimed by its original possessors even should it have passed by sale into different hands; 3d, The injustice and insufficiency of the system of public communication, such as the making and repairing of roads and bridges, which bore exclusively on the peasantry. Szecheny's doctrines were not like an electric spark or wild fire spreading instantaneously throughout the whole country, but to use a homely metaphor,

resembled rather the throwing of a heavy stone into a deep marsh, which, by bespattering the bystanders, awakens their attention. This noble count may be called the Cadmus of Hungarian reform, though he did far more than frame its alphabet. After his appearance on the political stage, the sphere of Hungarian politics was unconsciously widened, and public discussion assumed a shape hitherto unknown in the history of the country. Though endowed with a strong mind and keen feelings, Szecheny still wanted the faculty of distinctly systematizing the objects he grappled with; nor did he feel much sympathy with the passions of his countrymen in general. His deliberate and earnest aim was to regenerate his country, a task for the accomplishment of which he strained for more than twenty years, all his nerves and faculties, at one time surrounded with the splendour of a well-earned fame, at another moving, so to speak, in an empty void, which continued to widen itself around him down to the year 1847. The most brilliant of his qualities as a reformer was undoubtedly the ardour and earnestness with which he set about the carrying out of measures which he deemed salutary. In a pamphlet published anterior to this period, he gives the following account of his entrance on his public career:—"Very often did I see, when a boy, my father sunk in deep sorrows, without knowing its true causes. As he was a good Christian, I knew that family misfortune could not have so much overwhelmed him. But I was still in the dark, till later, when I learned that the ever-declining and hopeless state of our nation was the cause of these mournful hours. From the time my virtuous father, as a Hungarian, hopelessly sunk into his grave, I never ceased to compare the life-symptoms of other

nations with those of the Hungarians, in order to see whether or not there might be any hopes of its resurrection. This became my only task, and subsequently I found that the Hungarian nation, this pearl among the swarms of the east (though it has also its dross), was on the brink of despair, thrown into deep melancholy and longing after something hovering before them in the dark. While other nations live contentedly in the present, as if conscious that they had attained their position, and received their due sphere in life, the Hungarians, whose existence is covered with such a black veil, for the most part regard their fame as buried in the past, and cease to hope any more; only now and then struck by some faint glimpses of a distant future. If you look at the Germans, among whom I long lived, observe their society, and especially their music, a thing most characteristic with every people, you cannot help believing that they live in the present, cheerfully plucking its flowers, and careless of what is to come. No sooner do you hear their music than it spurs you into cheerfulness, but with the last stroke of the chords joy is at an end, no after trace of it remaining in the soul. But how differently do I feel now among the Hungarians from what I experienced in German society. The melancholy sounds of a national melody are sufficient to carry me into the depths of the past, overwhelming me with the belief that all is gone, when a bright sky again presents itself to my view; when my soul hears the Eden voice exclaim to me, 'Thy sorrows are not for the hopelessly dead, thy mournful voice is no funeral music; there is yet a future in store!' Thus do I live, consumed like a madman, equally by grief and by joy, most of my life covered with a sadness varied only by

a few rays of hope." Such are the pathetic confessions of a patriot whose practical activity was manifested in the introduction into his country of improvements so important as steam-conveyance, the regulation of rivers, and other salutary measures, but who, in the midst of his career, was led, as will afterwards be shown, to oppose several political reforms which he himself had been the first to indicate—a course which considerably diminished his popularity, and by severing him from the rising reformers, injured the cause of progress at large.

Szecheny's pamphlet, though it did not carry conviction to the majority of the nobles, did not fail to encourage the liberal party, and to expand their views—a result made apparent from the tone of the next Diet, which met in 1832. This assembly was no more a *rendezvous* for mere outpourings of grievances and the singing of hallelujahs, to the praise of the ancient rights and privileges, but a meeting of earnest patriots and enlightened intellects; assaulting with all the weight of argument and the shafts of wit the feudal prerogatives and the barbarous usages of the law. The propositions of the crown, which contained some intimations of the necessity of feudal reform, did not fail to inspire the liberals with sanguine hopes of success. They soon, however, had the mortification to find that anything like real improvement was as much discountenanced by the crown as it was opposed by the Upper House.¹ The point which the liberal

¹ The Hungarian Legislature was divided into two Chambers, a fact arising rather from convenience than from positive statute. The House of Lords was composed of the high clergy, both those of the Roman Catholic and Greek churches, and the barons and

party in the Lower House chiefly insisted upon, was to enact by law the competency of the peasantry to acquire landed property belonging to nobles, thus to open the way for the liberation of the serf from his master. One of the most zealous supporters of this measure was Kölcsey, member for the county of Szathmar. After reviewing the history of the last three centuries, and alluding to the fatal circumstance of the belief among the peasantry, that it was the nobles and not the king who opposed their emancipation, the orator spoke thus, in reference to the refusal of the government to sanction this measure:—"Let any one, who knows, tell me on what grounds this measure is opposed by the government. Is it on monarchical principles? I think that a monarchy cannot exist without the people, that a wealthy people renders it only stronger, and that it is only an impoverished population, or an oligarchy, which the crown ought to fear; and it is not long since we have seen the paupers of Paris subvert the throne of Louis XVI., while the castled lords of St Germain undermined the power of Buonaparte. Why, then, is the

magnates of the realm, who either enjoy their privileges by birth or by virtue of the offices they hold as the keepers of the crown, and the lord-lieutenants of the counties, or the governor of Fiume. The Lower House consisted of the deputies from the counties, in number fifty-five, including the eight counties of Croatia and Slavonia, each county being represented by two members. After the county members came the borough deputies, who, however, had no vote, as well as some abbots. As to the clergy, it may farther be remarked, that the Roman Catholics had three archbishops and seventeen bishops; the United Greeks, four bishops; the Non-united, one archbishop and seven bishops; while the Protestants had four superintendents, who never attained to the privileges of the other clergy in the legislature.

address of the throne averse to this measure? Or does this policy proceed from a regard to the interests of the aristocracy? Let us not forget that our privileged classes live scattered in the villages, among the millions of the heavily taxed people, and that their safety depends only on the patience and goodwill of these very millions. I need not go back to the ancient history of Rome, to represent before your eyes the devastating hordes of Spartacus; nor need I mention the recent peasant rebellion in Germany, or allude to the frightful scenes of St Domingo, in order to prove the falseness of this policy. All of us are familiar with like scenes in our own history,—those of Dosa and the recent massacres during the reign of Joseph II.; and I would ask the government, by what means it hopes to protect us on the recurrence of similar bloody catastrophes? Is it perhaps the block, or the cord of the hangman? Let us remember that the question is not how to kill single men, but how to stifle that invincible and immortal spirit that lives for centuries, now blazing forth in a glare, then glimmering under its ashes. Believe me, noble States, that this spirit can neither be vanquished nor curbed, but must be tamed down by community of interests, and reconciled to society by the words *freedom* and *property*. It is indeed surprising to see the government, after two hundred years' experience, ignore the importance of the people. Gone are the days, gone for ever, when the aristocracy formed the only power in the country, now rallying round the throne then against it; at present both the public treasury and army come from the people. Or do you not know that the heavily taxed peasant is carried away by force from the house of his parents, the embraces of his wife

and children, obliged to spend his years in military service at a distance from his country, whence he returns home covered with rags, often vainly looking for those he left behind him, with no alternative but to turn a vagabond or to beg at the door of the rich for the crumbs of their tables?

“Ah! how happy would I feel if some mercenary German writers, such as Gusterman, who proclaim to the world that it is we the nobles who wish to keep the people in subjection—how happy, I say, would I be, if they were here to witness at least our painful struggles with the government in behalf of the people. Noble States, it would be vain in me to attempt hiding my grief at our present discomfiture; but it ministers, on the other hand, to my no small gratification to know that the reproach which hung for centuries on the nobles, is from this day attached to the government. Noble States, I will feel myself justified in proclaiming, a proclamation which will be repeated throughout the whole country, and make the hearts of nine million of men to throb—I say, I will proclaim that in the year 1834 the Hungarian legislature tried to open a way for the emancipation of the people, and that this was opposed by the government.”

No greater success accompanied the projected reforms in the judicature, the object of which was to place the peasant before an unbiassed tribunal, not under the influence of his master. Kölcsey advocated also the re-union of Transylvania with Hungary, a point to which the court of Vienna, according to the axiom *divide et impera*, strenuously opposed itself; three counties, however, were actually re-annexed to the mother-country.

Though engaged with internal questions of vital im-

portance, the diet was startled by the fate of Poland, which was just undergoing all the cruelties and oppressions imaginable in a country which had just failed in a general rising against the existing power. The speeches made on this occasion by the Hungarian liberals partook of the grandeur and earnestness of the cry raised in England by Burke and his compeers over trampled Hindostan; and formed a striking contrast to the tone in which the liberal British legislators of the present day incidentally touch on the oppressed condition of some of the continental nations.¹ "Some say," exclaimed the member for Zala, Francis Deak, a man of a temperament far from excitable, "some say that nations perish and nations rise; true, this we learn from history; but it is no reason for our looking on coldly and mutely at the last convulsions of a nation without attempting to hasten to its rescue. The said axiom applies as well to individuals, who, like nations, perish to make room for others; but who would, therefore, deny the duty of man to help his fellow-creatures in distress? I will abstain from broaching before you all the manifest and latent reasons which induced the monarchs of Europe to dismember a country that, in the sixteenth century, was the mightiest state of the north. Europe may perhaps soon rue this step; but it is painful to see the old liberties of a nation lie in ruins, and frightful to remember that, on the blood-steeped banks of the Vistula, no longer reek the cottages of free Poles. And doubly painful is it to me to know, that from our own past misfortunes, we can

¹ It may be observed that the specimens here given, transcribed from a few original documents, are scarcely calculated to convey to the reader an adequate idea of Hungarian parliamentary oratory.

do now nothing else but express our sorrow and compassion, instead of marching on to the aid of the oppressed with arms in our hands—which was what the Hungarians did for Rudolf of Hapsburg in 1278, when he was threatened by Ottoacer of Bohemia? But let us not, therefore, forget that even the mere tears compassion sheds serve to soothe the pain of those who are trodden down; and let us therefore, at least, weep for them whose ancestors shed their blood for our own welfare, and not grudge the labour of a few hours required for the drawing up of a petition to the throne in behalf of the unfortunate.

“Frightened by the threatening power of Buona-
parte, the confederate monarchs proclaimed them-
selves the liberators of Europe; and every Austrian
soldier that fought at Leipsic had his breast decorated
with a small cross, bearing the inscription, *Europa
libertati asserta*: Ah! much was held forth to the
peoples in these three words. The dumb memorials
tell loudly what the sacred words of monarchs pro-
mised. Let us, therefore, as a free constitutional
people, join our voices to that of this little metal, and
request the throne to fulfil these glorious promises, and
to alleviate the fate of our unfortunate neighbours.”

Besides the names already mentioned, those who particularly distinguished themselves in the path of reform were, Bezeregy, the warmest advocate of the interests of the peasantry; Beöthy, who best understood how to shatter with his sallies of wit the stiff arguments of the high clergy; and Klauzal, one of the most impressive of orators. In spite of all their efforts, however, no material change was effected in the feudal system. A question of no small importance was the debate on the use of the Hungarian language, the

liberals insisting upon the enactment of a law substituting, in the Diet, the Hungarian instead of the dead Latin. Here, again, they met with opposition from the Upper House, and the high clergy in particular. On this occasion Kőlcsey spoke thus: "If the ancient senate and people of Rome had remained in all their grandeur of power and eloquence to the present time, and had we, as one of their conquered provinces, applied to them to free us from the use of their language, then I could have comprehended the tenor of such an answer as now lies on our table from the Upper House. But to see the wish of the Hungarian nation refused by Hungarian lords, is a thing which I cannot understand. If the point under discussion had been a question between the nobles and the people, I might have construed the conduct of the Upper House as arising from a feeling of old prejudices and privileges. Here, however, the question lies between nobles and nobles! on one hand there are five hundred, on the other, seven hundred thousand. Both these divisions in our legislature form only one body, in which only one majority is imaginable; I would, therefore, ask, whether seven hundred thousand is not more than five hundred?"

The law, which enjoined the use of the language in the parliamentary debates, was consequently passed in spite of the spiritual lords; the Croatian deputies, however, were exempted from the rule, and allowed to continue the use of the Latin. This Diet, which continued till 1836, was in every respect one of the most notable in the annals of Hungary, not from its results, which fell far short of expectation, but from its undeniable indications of new elements of thought at work, as well as from the stir it caused throughout the whole country. What particularly contributed to

direct the attention of the nobles to the proceedings of the legislature, was the written reports of Louis Kossuth, who then, for the first time, broke upon the public notice.

Before the meeting of the next diet, the liberal party lost one of its most influential members, Francis Kölcsey. This earnest and spotless reformer of modern Hungary ranked equally high as an orator and an author. The didactic portion of his works (which were published in one uniform edition after his death) contain some of the finest specimens of Hungarian authorship. Himself a poet, and fond of legendary lore in general, Kölcsey unremittingly endeavoured to endear the recollections of the past to his countrymen; and every line written with that view is an embodiment of a patriotic sigh and a strong hope; a pure and impressive current of moral sentiment flows throughout the whole. Something genuine and noble will be found in the following lines: "God," so does the poet-orator exclaim, "has not thronged millions of men into one common land, to see them squander away their strength and energy in individual action and solitary unavailable longings. Your task is to achieve what your ancestors have left undone; this, however, requires ardour, united power, and general enthusiasm. I tell you, gather ye round the aged, listen to their sayings, warm when they tell you of past combats, shrink at their perils, and feel their pangs. Remember that the knowledge of the most insignificant patriotic deeds is worth more than that of the greatest feats of strangers; the former possess boundless power, capable of kindling a new flame in the breast of remotest posterity. Was the nest built by your ancestors small? gather ye together the fragments for the basis of a future grandeur.

Were their struggles slight? try ye to become great by means of peace. Was their career a continual change? be ye also metamorphosed like the butterfly passing from one shape to another and a nobler. Have your ancestors bequeathed you no monuments? why not yourselves attempt to raise them for their sake? Do not forget that each stone, gathered from the spot of ancient deeds, every song in the praise of heroes gone, and any effort made towards the investigation of the past, are so many steps for the elevation of the present, the strengthening of your own power, and the embodiment of your own thoughts and feelings. Aye, not in vain did the brave nations of the world cling to their traditions, and hold in deep reverence the histories of their past. The thousand ships, which lay for ten years around Troy, were, as you may know, nothing else than poor miserable boats, and the prince of the rocky Ithaca no more than a common adventurer; and still, how great the power of their traditions! Rome owes not less grandeur to like fables; and what might not be expected from really great historic deeds? You well know how the fame of the victors of Marathon bred new heroes at Athens. Search ye, therefore, your past, investigate it with ardour.

“Why not look for a common bond for all of us? Why live without the community of feeling and interest? Our assemblies, as you know, are the exclusive portion of but one class, while the ecclesiastical element is struck with dissensions and the spirit of sectarianism; in short, everywhere disunion and dissension. Oh, how different would all be if all the people who live on the Danube and the Theiss—the dwellers in the palace and in the cottage, equally felt the woes and blessings of our land!”

Kölcsey died in 1838, at a juncture when his services were most needed. In person he was of small stature and slender make; with only one eye, which, when his lips opened for the defence of his favourite theme, was sufficient to lighten and shed a lustre over a pale, gloomy, and rather repulsive countenance. Next to Szecheny, Kölcsey exercised the greatest influence over the public mind; if the former was more of a politician, the latter ranked far higher as an author; and while the magnate, despite his earnestness, sometimes displayed an unbecoming ostentatiousness, Kölcsey, on the other hand, shone without ever thinking of himself, or designing to be seen.

Francis I., who died during the last long diet, was succeeded on the throne, in 1836, by his son Ferdinand I., who, in compliance with the demands of the Hungarian States, assumed the name of Ferdinand V., king of Hungary. The mental weakness of this monarch allowed a freer scope to Prince Metternich, whose policy was *immutability*—a policy which could not have proceeded except from a belief in the imperfection of man. As regards Hungary, in particular, there is no doubt, that the mere consciousness of the necessity of reform was a tacit declaration of war to the court of Vienna; and, however the movement of 1848 may be said to have been influenced, or even caused by the *bouleversement* of Paris, still something like it might have been expected sooner or later. On the one hand, stood a people labouring to erect a bridge between a blasted past and a promising future; on the other, an executive shunning anything indicative of mental activity, hating publicity, and averse to control; here a people bent upon clearing away the rust of ancient institutions and widening their sphere;

there a government with all its aspirations and hopes founded on social rottenness and obstruction. In fact, the anomalous connection subsisting between Hungary and Austria, and the dilemma arising from it in the council of Vienna, offered no common difficulties to the Austrian statesman. The desire of checking any reform in Hungary arose not only from the motive of preventing the general development of that kingdom, but also from fear that it might awaken the desire in the rest of the empire for similar reforms. Indeed, to see a monarch ruling in Vienna the greatest part of his dominions at his pleasure, submitting at the same time to act in Presburg according to the rules of prescription and established law, would be nearly as strange a spectacle as that of beholding a pope leaving from time to time the chair of St Peter to take the lead in the synods of the protestants.

Defeated in the Diet, the reform question was continually discussed in the county assemblies, the necessity for a new state of things becoming evident before the eyes of every portion of the population. The reformers were henceforth no more to be made contented with the words of "faithful and generous Hungarian subjects," which at certain and not unfrequent occasions used to spring from the so-called fountain of justice. The obstacles put by the Austrian government in the way of the free development of Hungarian commerce and industry, became now pretty evident, and every earnest patriot was haunted by these irresistible questions, Why not be free in the midst of a new pile of laws? and why poor in this land of Canaan overflowing with milk and honey? One of the most conspicuous and most ardent advocates of reform in the counties was Baron Vesseleny, who by his example in the county

Szathmar, gave a particular stimulus to the question in many counties where he did not appear personally. Metternich, however, resolved to gag the county assemblies, which hitherto enjoyed liberty of speech. In accordance with this policy some members of the liberal party, as Vesseleny, Count Raday, Lovossy, were thrown into prison, on account of their free expression of opinion. A similar punishment was inflicted on Kossuth for having lithographed the debates of the diets. This violation of personal liberty far from producing a feeling of intimidation, called forth loud remonstrances from the counties; that of Pesth, as if willing to show its open resistance to the court of Vienna, having returned Count Raday, one of the prisoners, member for the next diet.

This Diet was opened in 1840, and, as might be expected, in the midst of general excitement. The counties in their instructions to the deputies did not forget to press upon them the necessity of obtaining redress for the violation of the liberty of speech, and of urging the immediate liberation of those who were lately imprisoned. Another object of no small importance in this Diet was the infringement of the laws of the protestants, the catholic clergy, and, especially, the Bishop of Gross-Vardein, Francis Lajcsak, refusing to give the matrimonial blessing to mixed marriages between catholics and protestants. The chief attention, however, hung on the solution of the question of liberty of speech. After the lapse of a few months the palatine Arch-duke Joseph notified to the States of both houses who (as is usual on extraordinary occasions) had met together, that His Majesty resolved to release the political prisoners.

The character of the proceedings in the House of

Lords, generally marked by a narrowness of mind and keen aversion to improvement, was in this Diet somewhat redeemed by the position assumed by Count Szecheny. Besides unequivocally condemning the clergy in the question of the mixed marriages, the noble Count expressed unhesitatingly his opinion on the violation of the liberty of speech, an opportunity which he made use of for expatiating at large on the relations subsisting between Hungary and Austria. After having premised a few remarks as to his main intention of bring about a good understanding between the two branches of the Hungarian legislature, as well as between the Hungarian people and their king, Szecheny spoke thus :—"As far I am able to judge, the chief cause of our grievances does not lie in individual men, but in our heterogeneous union with Austria. We do possess a constitution, Austria has none. And this being the case we are bound to guard and preserve what we have ; while the government, if desirous of living in harmony with us, ought likewise to feel itself bound, nay, for its own sake should sincerely wish, to promote the development of our constitutional life. But the government is far from doing this ; and we have hence the deep mortification of seeing it pay men to write all kinds of calumnies against us,—a policy, the obvious aim of which is to turn against us the opinion of the rest of Europe. Ah ! this is a strange means of reconciliation, especially when it proceeds from a quarter where sacredness and legitimacy are so often talked of." The speaker then referred to some striking instances of the fidelity of the Hungarians to their dynasty ; and, shifting his point, continued thus : "Let us likewise beware of violences and vain popularity ; and let us not forget,

that in France the learned Bailly lost his influence by the violences of Camille de Moulins, who in his turn was swept away by the violences of Danton, while he again was soon obliged to yield to the popularity of Robespierre, in whose hands it was made the means of boundless despotism. Let us guard ourselves against like occurrences; let us attempt, before everything else, the development of the public spirit, and walk together hand in hand; let us make, in short, the Hungarian name respected even by our enemies; but, on the other hand, let the government, which has already abandoned its Germanizing ideas, renounce also all its incorporating schemes, for never can these take place. *We may perhaps be murdered, but we can never be fused into the Austrian dominions; nay, it is a question whether we can even be murdered. I at least do not believe it.* A future yet awaits our nation, which cannot be undone by the will of single men. Fifteen years ago the sounds of the Hungarian language were, so to speak, for the first time heard in these halls; then the nation was divided into two parties, the one plunged in sensual pleasures; the other and the nobler looking to the past for national greatness in the belief that all was buried under the ruins of Mohacs. Then I, who had just left military service, and quite unprepared for the task of a writer, did by some power of inspiration exclaim, '*The Magyar was not, but the Magyar will be.*' And how great is the progress made during this interval! Even now I repeat the same words, and firmly believe that our nation is destined to act a great part, and that it is reserved for her to be here in the west the civilising instrument of those Asiatic tribes with whom it has a common eastern origin. Let not the government doubt of that; and

let it believe our humane intentions even as we give credit to it. Everywhere the necessity for reform strikes the eye of man ; the counties, the means of communication, the towns having no share in the Diet, and innumerable other things, demand change and improvement. Such things, however, cannot be done without a good understanding between us and the government. Now is the time for joint action ; and if we cannot get all, let us at least try to obtain redress for one grievance, and insert in the address to the throne our complaints against the violation of the liberty of speech."

CHAPTER IX.

THE QUESTIONS OF THE DAY—KOSSUTH AS A JOURNALIST—THE COMMERCIAL SYSTEM OF AUSTRIA IN ITS BEARINGS ON HUNGARY—THE DIET OF 1843—MEASURES OF THE GOVERNMENT TO PARALYZE THE COUNTY MUNICIPALITIES—LITERATURE—(1840-1847.)

AFTER the diet of 1840, the questions which agitated the public mind, down to the great movement of 1848, were of a more decided character, and may be divided into two distinct heads: the one referring to civil law; the other embracing the general principles of political economy and their bearings on the state. It is needless to observe, that the solution of the former ought necessarily to have preceded that of the latter, and that before investigating the means of national wealth, the relation between commerce and agriculture, and all those regulations which serve as canons for home and foreign interchange, the first step to be taken was to lay down the fundamental principle of civilized society, which is—free labour, and a fair distribution of the burdens of the state among all the members of the community. All these questions were, however, mooted and discussed at one and the same moment; a circumstance by no means favourable to a lucid consideration of them in detail. This, however, was mainly owing

to the court of Vienna, which allowed no free scope to the Hungarian states, even in minor questions, in consequence of which an accumulation of all sorts of questions occupied the attention of the people simultaneously.

The most powerful interpreter of the reform party was, henceforth, Louis Kossuth, who, soon after his liberation from prison, became the editor of a political journal called *Pesti Hírlap* (Pesth Journal). Much has passed over Hungary from the time Kossuth wrote his first leader (January 1841), down to the date of his letter, addressed from Alpha Road to Lord Dudley Stuart, about the *Rotherhithe gunpowder plot*; nor are the vicissitudes which he himself has experienced during this short interval, less striking. In this chapter the reader must not expect to meet with Kossuth the minister or the governor; all that will be said relates to Kossuth the private citizen, Kossuth the reformer or the agitator. And in using the term agitator, we express one of the noblest vocations of man, when surrounded by deceit, injustice, and the stifled sighs of millions. Let us remember, that arch-agitators are the drops of heaven falling on the dead earth, that agitators were those who raised their cry against the gods of heathenism, that agitators drew up the charter of the New World, to which Europe, though reluctantly, must feel in part indebted for the faint glimpses of freedom it preserved; finally, that agitators have been the harbingers—the martyrs of civilization. Non-agitators, as we know, were Nero, Christiern, Alva, Caraffa, and all their modern disciples, who have filled the continent of Europe with deeds of horror. The Hungarian agitators had to deal with no world-stirring idea, but their task was, on that account, not

the less sacred. But before proceeding to the contemplation of these questions of reform, it will be necessary to cast a glance on the actual condition of Hungary at this time.

The population of Hungary, excluding Transylvania, amounted, according to the computation of the Hungarian statistical writer, Fenyés, to more than twelve millions. The town population stood, to the rural portion of the people, in the proportion of one to eight, a circumstance sufficiently proving the low state of commerce and manufactures. Some of the chief towns, and especially Pesth, the capital, situated on the banks of the Danube, a river admirably adapted to promote the intercourse of Hungary with the east, presented an outward appearance of considerable activity; though, compared with other commercial towns of Europe, the amount of business transacted in these places would appear very limited. Pesth, besides being the centre of home interchange, forms, at the same time, the main point for foreign transactions; the latter branch of business, however, was greatly restricted by the commercial policy of Austria. The towns, therefore, may be termed the passive element of society, both from having acquired none of the importance generally accruing from the accumulation of wealth, and from possessing no share in either the county assembly or the diet. Again, there was a great disparity in the state of the townsmen themselves, many of the largest towns in Lower Hungary presenting, in their habits, dress, and words, nothing more than the characteristics of a rustic population. The representatives of national wealth and intelligence were thus the landed proprietors or nobles, amounting in all, as far as regarded privileges, to more than six

hundred thousand, a part of whom lived in luxurious abundance, while the larger portion, to all outward appearance, differed little or nothing in condition from the peasantry. The latter, accordingly, derived their importance solely from their privileges, which consisted in their exemption from all public burdens, and in having a share in the legislature. The number of the serfs might have been computed at seven millions, whose labour constituted the chief wealth of the country. The peasant, as a tenant of his feudal lord, besides being compelled to a feudal service called *Robot*, which occupied almost half of his time, had also to pay the military tax; to supply the house tax, from which all the internal expenses of the administration of the counties was defrayed; was obliged to repair the roads and bridges; to give quarters to the soldiers; to pay, besides, the ministers of the Church and the schoolmasters; and, in addition to all these burdens, he had to give one ninth of his produce to his landlord, and tithes to the Roman Catholic clergy, even although a Protestant. The oppression endured by the majority of the population needs no comment, nor is it necessary to descant on the disadvantages resulting therefrom to agricultural produce. It may likewise be remembered, that agriculture in Hungary was, so to speak, in its primitive state, unaided by modern improvements in manuring, irrigation, drainage, and thrashing. Nor could any change be reasonably expected, so long as the owners of the soil had no other care but the keeping of the keys of the granaries, filled by the labour of the serfs. The general opinion of economists in regard to Austria was, that the daily labour of a serf was equivalent only to one-third of that of a hired labourer. The Hungarian peasant, easily reconciled to his work

by a single friendly admonition coming from the mouth of his master, might fairly have formed an exception to the general rule, though the evil of coercive labour still remained palpable.

One of the main efforts of the Reform party was, therefore, to improve the state of the peasantry by gradual measures tending to result in their ultimate emancipation; or, in other words, to give a permanent interest in the soil to its cultivators, which, in the words of Mill, "is as powerful an agent in production as the spinning jenny and the steam-engine." The doctrines of this party were expounded chiefly by Kossuth, who proved nearly alike powerful as a journalist and an orator. Not because he brought to the field a new legion of arguments, but because he best understood how to work on the materials which lay ready, how to turn to his own account the very objections raised by the party adverse to reform, and finally, by reason of his faculty for engaging general attention, and giving life and shape to whatever he handled. The pivot of Kossuth's reasonings were the following three theorems, unremittingly discussed from every possible point of view, 1st, That the nobles by themselves had neither sufficient strength nor will to carry out the work of national regeneration; 2^d, That to give to the reform movement some practical utility recourse must be had to private association; 3^d, That to obtain success the first indispensable requisite was the creating of enthusiastic feeling as the best proof of the vitality of a people. The effects of Kossuth's labours made themselves soon visible in the county assemblies, in several of which the liberals gradually gained the upper-hand. In one of his leaders of the year 1843, Kossuth speaks thus of his efforts:—

“Three years had passed since I entered a path in which I thought I might perhaps be able to contribute a single grain of sand to the building of the temple of the future grandeur of our nation. Why I have done so, and by what hopes I was then actuated, I will now state to you. The history of Hungary lay open before my eyes, and on its pages I saw this heavily visited nation torn by contentions and vice, with its laws trodden down by arbitrary will, injustice, and foreign tyranny; I saw how treason had followed treason in the history of our nation, how often it was on the brink of entire dissolution, how the curse of God had weighed on its shoulders,—without finding scarcely one rosy page among the endless heap of its mournful leaves. And still one century thus passed after the other, and yet, as our poet Vörösmarty says, ‘Weakened, it is true, but unbroken lives yet a people in this land.’ What heavenly wonder has done this? The key to this riddle I find in the past, that there never was a time in our mournful past when the people were not in a state capable of becoming inspired with an idea—such an idea may perhaps have often been unsound, and instigated by latent base motives—still the capability of becoming inspired was always extant, even when almost the whole country appeared to be in utter obtuseness; and truly a nation which possesses at least one idea, for which it is able to kindle into a state of enthusiasm, may indeed be oppressed by foreign power, but can never vanish away in suicidal or idle longings.

“I further saw how, during these past centuries, the nobles were the centre of every enthusiasm; I therefore thought in myself,—these nobles subsist down to the present day,—why not hope that, propelled by

the spirit of time, they may be animated with something more noble than they were in former ages? I say, I hoped that these nobles who, but fifty years ago, could by the breath of enthusiasm change the glimmering spark of national feeling into a blazing flame, may now no less feel inspired at the idea of regenerating and increasing the strength of the nation by uniting to them the people with ties of love! My hopes were thus founded on the existence of such an enthusiasm, and it was with the chaste fire of this sacred belief that I succeeded in reviving hopes often disappointed." These reflections Kossuth wound up with an admonition to the acceptance of general taxation, declaring, moreover, that to obtain practical results he would for the present be satisfied to see that principle applied merely to the house-tax. In short, Kossuth's leaders fell like a constant shower upon the country, awakening even the most indolent of the county gentlemen, and soon came daily to be looked for with an eagerness and curiosity previously unknown among the reading public of Hungary. This onward march of public opinion had however a totally different effect on Count Szecheny. This nobleman now became averse to measures he had been the first to point out fifteen years before; such, for example, as the abolition of the *Jus Avicinitatis*, and the taxation of the nobles; and as advancing years may have been the chief cause of his retrogression, so time, as is natural, became in its progress the more imperious in its demands.

In 1841 Szecheny wrote a pamphlet, chiefly directed against the *Pesti Hírlap*, under the strange title of *Kelet Nepe* (The People of the East), which, like his other writings, is a curious and racy mixture of exposition of political doctrines, personal confessions, and

prophecies; the polemical part marked by a coarseness repulsive in the extreme. It may here, in passing, be remarked, that Szecheny possessed at the same time a quality by which the aristocracy of England seem to be signally distinguished among European nobilities, viz. that of listening with indifference to a not over delicate rebut of their arguments. The consequence of this pamphlet was, to alienate himself more from the reform party, which was the more determined to carry the projected measures, despite his objections. It was under these circumstances that the Diet met in 1843. The programme of the reformers embraced the principle of general taxation, the rights of the peasantry to sell their *usufruct*, and, if able, to purchase their complete liberty by paying a sum equivalent to the value of the land they possessed. The latter point was carried after many a warm debate; the principle of taxation, however, besides being rejected by the Lords, had not even a majority of the Lower House in its favour. An utter failure attended the commercial question. Hungary, it must be remembered, in spite of positive laws to a contrary effect, was still subjected to the commercial system of Austria, a grievance which had occupied the attention of the states in the time of Maria-Theresa, as well as in the beginning of the present century; though its full importance was far from having been duly appreciated. The prohibitive system of Austria compelled Hungary to trade only with the Austrian dominions, and she was thus compelled to purchase manufactures obtainable elsewhere of a better quality and at a cheaper rate. Nor was this all; the most important branch of commerce, raw produce, was materially impeded by the subsisting toll and custom duties. Every article

of Hungarian produce, as corn, wool, cattle, wine, and tobacco, was, when exported to the Austrian dominions, subjected on the frontier to a double custom-duty, a Hungarian and an Austrian; the former being far less than the latter. Besides, exportation was clogged with another burdensome duty or excise, which was the more unjust, inasmuch as it was not chargeable if such articles of produce were exported from Hungary into Austria, as the property of an Austrian merchant. The reform party insisted on a reasonable adjustment of this anomalous state of affairs, trying to give some practical meaning to the law of 1791, which declares, "*That Hungary with her dependencies is a free kingdom, independent, having its peculiar consistence and constitution, and is to be governed only by her peculiar laws and customs.*" All efforts, however, failed, and to the great discontent of the country matters remained on that head *in statu quo*. It now remains only to mention the language question, and the reader will have presented before him all the prominent topics that occupied this Diet.

The idea of encouraging the culture of the Hungarian language, and, as it was termed, of making it the medium of diplomatic communication, was steadily kept in view by the reformers. By this time these proceedings produced a sort of animosity and jealousy among the southern Slaves of Hungary, or, more properly speaking, in Croatia. But such antagonistic manifestations, which originated rather in the general Panslavonic idea, than with the Slaves of Hungary, were not calculated to make the reformers, who were bent upon the emancipation of the whole people without distinction of race, abandon this question; for none of the Slavonic idioms, or the Wallachian, or

the languages spoken by the minor races, could possibly have been thought of as the substitute of the Latin, or an available medium of general intercourse. By this time, when the progress of the Hungarian language, both in literature and in social intercourse, became too visible, the bishops, who formerly objected to the use of a living idiom, no more lamented the dethronement of the dead Latin. This measure, therefore, met with little or no opposition. The enactment on this head consisted of the following provisions: 1st, That the speeches from, and the addresses to, the throne, should henceforth be in Hungarian; not in Latin; 2d, That the chancelry should issue its orders in Hungarian; and, further, that that idiom should supersede the Latin in some branches of public instruction and administration. From these provisions Croatia was exempted, retaining its full liberty to make use of the Latin or of its own tongue in the courts and county assemblies. As regards the Diet, it was enacted that, after the lapse of six years, the Croatian members, hitherto persisting in the use of Latin, should be bound to use the Hungarian in the dietal debates.

The first manifestation of a practical measure attempted by the reformers, after the Diet of 1843, was the establishment of an association with the object of fostering home industry. The name of this association was Véd-egylet (Defensive Union), which consisted of members who bound themselves to use all the manufactures to be produced under its auspices in preference to foreign articles. The president of this promising union was Count Casmir Batthyany; its director was Louis Kossuth, who did most towards its establishment. The ardour with which this idea was embraced by a large portion of the educated population, promised it

fair success, though it ultimately proved abortive. In this instance, also, Szecheny inveighed against the endeavours of the reform party, predicting the failure of the scheme; though, merely judging from the uneasiness this union caused among the manufacturers of Austria, the enterprise appeared to be by no means of a hopeless and impracticable nature. In fact, any one at all acquainted with the physical capabilities of Hungary must have seen that such an experiment was at once promising, judicious, and well worth the trial. "The superiority of one country over another in a branch of production," says John Mill, "often arises only from having begun it sooner. There may be no inherent advantage on one part, or disadvantage on the other, but only a present superiority of acquired skill and experience. A country which has this skill and experience yet to acquire may in other respects be better adapted to the productions than those which were earlier in the field; and, besides, it is a just remark, that nothing has a greater tendency to promote improvements in any branch of production than its trial under a new set of conditions." It may be observed, that this argument used by this author in favour of protection may the more fitly apply to the case in point, which was an enterprise of a moral rather than of a commercial character; and was, as may be seen, on the contrary, intended to act as a counterpoise to Austrian protection. The failure of the Defensive Union may be attributed chiefly to the distracted state of the country, caused by the serious momentous political questions which engaged the public mind; nor can the salutary influences it left behind on Hungarian industry be altogether denied.

In the middle of 1844, Kossuth parted with the

Pesti Hirlap, a journal which did much for the culture of the Hungarian language as regards the political department, and which, irrespective of its vast influence on the questions of the day, greatly served in widening the sphere of political speculation in Hungary. The appropriate opportunity for so doing was offered to the able journalist in 1841, when the accession of Austria to the German Zollverein seemed to be a matter of probability. At this juncture, Kossuth, in discussing the question from a Hungarian point of view, for the first time brought before the notice of the public several of the broad principles of political economy, proving, as regarded the main point at issue, how the Zollverein was only an answer to the English *corn laws*, excluding the raw produce of Germany, and meant to protect German industry; how Hungary, still more backward in industry than Germany, was not likely to be benefited by its accession to the Zollverein, which, as Germany was itself an agricultural country, would of course open no new market for the Hungarian raw products. The soundness of such reasoning will hardly be called in question by economists of whatever school. Kossuth, however, erred in supporting his argument in addition on purely national grounds, and was doubly mistaken in alleging that the Zollverein would soon effect the political union of Germany, and that it would prove injurious to Hungarian nationality. In fact, this peculiarity of Kossuth, by which he reduced every question, if possible, to the standard of nationality, tended on many an occasion to give a false direction to his reasonings.

While the liberals were thus straining their nerves to raise the mental and physical condition of the country, and while several counties were vieing with each

other in the introduction of local reforms, as, for example, the extension of the franchise in the election of local magistrates to the more intelligent classes, though not nobles, Metternich was bent on a measure most effectual in its nature for the obstruction of all progress. But before indicating the character of this measure, a few remarks must be premised in reference to the internal organization of the counties. Each county was governed by a lord-lieutenant, two sheriffs, and several inferior officers, as district judges, in proportion to the extent of the county. The lord-lieutenant, nominated by the king, and always a nobleman of independent fortune, holding his office as a mark of distinction, was rather the nominal ruler of the county, the administration and distribution of justice resting with the two sheriffs, who by election succeeded to office for the term of three years. The sheriffs likewise presided over the general assemblies usually convoked for the consideration of ordinances, which were sent to the county from the central courts of administration, and which if found illegal were either laid aside or remonstrated against. The sheriffs also took the lead in the deliberations in reference to the nature of the instructions which every county, according to usage, gave to the members it returned to the Diet, and who if acting contrary were recalled. The office of lord-lieutenant, it must in addition be said, was in some instances hereditary, and remained often vacant. Metternich therefore thought to paralyze the power of the counties (exhibited in most instances in passive resistance, viz., in the non-execution of unconstitutional orders), by substituting for the lord-lieutenants *royal commissioners*, paid by the crown, and acting, of course, according to the instructions from Vienna. This in-

novation, introduced into several counties, was known by the name of the *administrator system*; nor was there an unbiassed thinking man who did not perceive how much such a regal commissioner would influence the general administration of the counties. The fermentation caused by this Metternich policy, which was strongly supported by the Hungarian chancellor Appony, threw aside for a time the discussion of the contemplated reforms, and formed the main topic of debate in the County Assemblies. The following remarks, being the substance of a speech delivered on that question by Kossuth (1845) in the County Assembly of Pesth, may serve to elucidate the point at issue:—“The system,” said the orator, “whose introduction into Hungary was attempted by some statesmen, I have no hesitation in saying, is neither Hungarian nor constitutional, and was once vainly attempted by a great prince, at a time when the whole nation was sunk in deep slumber. Now we are awake, reposing after a war of five and twenty years, which found us likewise awake. And being awake, we are enabled to guard ourselves against this commissary-system, which failed before. According to the government measure, noble States, the lord-lieutenant is to give place to an administrator, who is responsible to no one for what he does, and is to act in accordance with the open and secret instructions of the chancery, likewise irresponsible. Indeed, such a functionary in our counties, having the seal of the county in his hands, provided with money, and, if required, with the disposal of military power, would prove very much similar to the district commissaries in Bohemia; he would be in a position to influence the elections, use bribery and intimidation, and thus paralyze all the good arising from our muni-

cial institutions. Let us remember that a stronger attack on our constitution was not even attempted by Joseph II., and that Hungary, whenever bereft of its municipalities, is sure to become a mere Austrian province. Some palliate the injustice of this measure with the word 'order,' a word which was used by Phillip II. in turning the Netherlands into a land of desolation, and by the Czar in extinguishing the liberties of Poland. Heaven forbid that Hungary should ever experience an order of this sort! Amid the enjoyment of her own laws, Hungary wants no arbitrary measures of order, and if the introduction of some organic change is contemplated, it is only the representatives of the nation who can do it."

In the meantime, a new reform party rose, known by the name of the Centralists, whose doctrines were expounded in the *Pesti Hirlap*, which, by this time, had passed from the hands of Kossuth into those of Ladislaus Szalay, and which was subsequently conducted by Anthon Csengeri. The fundamental idea of this party was to prove the necessity of a responsible ministry, instead of the Hungarian Central Court in Buda, and the Hungarian Chancery in Vienna. Looking at the irregularities subsisting in the various parts of the country, as, for example, the different institutions and privileges of the counties, of the towns and the districts of the Cumans, the Haiduks, and the sixteen towns of the Zips, much could be said in favour of the principle of centralization. The establishment of a ministry, however, pre-supposed the diminution of the power of the county institutions, which alone resisted, in times of overwhelming tyranny, the grasping power of the crown—a circumstance which was sufficient to render the centralizing idea

unpopular. The Centralists, indeed, drawing amply on the example and doctrines of foreign countries, expounded their ideas with considerable precision and ability, but they forgot the most vital point. These reformers seemed to have entirely left out of view, that the main question for the country lay in getting security for the strict observance of law, and not to have considered that the mere nomination of a Hungarian independent and responsible ministry, unattended by guarantees, would be entirely at the mercy of the sovereign, and liable to be demolished by the single stroke of his pen. The majority of the people, therefore, sided with the Kossuth party, whose object was not only to preserve, but to extend the influence and sphere of action of the county municipalities.

Amidst these fluctuations and progressive efforts in the sphere of politics, *Literature* exhibited still stronger signs of genuine advancement.

Within the last fifteen years, a surprisingly large number of works, both in prose and poetry, issued from the press, surpassing those of the Kazinczy period in energy, refinement of sentiment, and outward polish. All the productions of this time are marked by a youthful spirit and intense ardour, sweeping away many of the most inveterate prejudices, and are imbued with a deep feeling of patriotism.

Among the prose writers who exercised a particular influence on this epoch, Baron Nicholas Josika claims the first place. This nobleman, a member of the Committee of Defence during the war of 1848, and now an exile in Belgium, was the first who introduced the modern novel into the Hungarian literature, as well as a chief instrument in moulding the Hun-

garian idiom to this kind of composition. Josika is the most prolific author ever produced by Hungary, and his historical novels, as *Abafi* and *The Bohemians in Hungary*, amply prove his power of treasuring up and representing traditional recollections, as well as the beauty of his diction. His writings had no small influence in refining the style and tone of social conversation; and the ladies, whose toilet was formerly crowded only with the light productions of foreign authors, began to blush if they had nothing to say on the novels of Josika, who is, not without reason, called the Walter Scott of Hungary. Next to this author, must be mentioned Kuthy, a writer possessing a rich fancy, and great powers of expression, which he sometimes exhibits to excess. His descriptions of Hungarian scenery and rustic life form the finest specimens in this kind, his most finished work being *The Home Mysteries* (Hazai Rajtelmek), which owes its origin chiefly to *The Mysteries of Paris* by Sue and his fortunate imitators. Baron Eötvös, the author of two popular novels, one of which, *The Village Notary*, was lately rendered into English, is more known as a political character. A prose writer of quite a different cast was Peter Vajda, a man deeply imbued with nature, some of whose unversified poetical effusions partake of an Ossianic or psalm-like sublimity. To these writers may be joined Nagy and Kovacs, novelists in the humorous line; Fay, distinguished as a successful fable writer; and, especially in the historical department, Bajza, who acquired a well-earned name as the editor of the *Athenæum*, a literary journal of much merit, and which was stopped in consequence of want of support.

Among the poets, the palm undoubtedly belongs to Vörösmarty, who formed the connecting link between

the poets of the beginning of the present century and those of the new epoch, which commenced with Petöfi in 1842. Vörösmarty was the creator of the romantic Hungarian poetry, and the first who entirely freed himself from the trammels of the ancient classics. His verse is pervaded with a rich vein of imagination and a singular nobility of sentiment, everywhere clothed in a pure and idiomatic style. His larger works, consisting of historical dramas and epics, are adorned with many graceful impersonations; and the style abounds throughout with dazzling metaphors, though there is a want of power in the delineation of character and in unity of expression in the former, and a lack of general execution, broad incidents, and grandeur, in the latter. For his popularity Vörösmarty is chiefly indebted to his minor poems, the most esteemed and widely-known of which are his *Appeal*, and a drinking song called *Foti-Dal*. The *Appeal*, as expressing the feeling of the country, and imbued with the political sentiment, soon became the favourite national song.

THE APPEAL.

Be true to the land of thy birth,
 Son of the Magyar race;
 It nourish'd, nursed, and soon its earth
 Will be thy resting place.

What though the world is very wide,
 No land with thine can vie;
 Come weal or woe on fortune's tide,
 Here must thou live and die.

Behold the dear, the hallow'd soil,
 On which our fathers bled;
 Lo here ten centuries of toil
 Have bound the mighty dead.

The foeman's ranks our heroes broke
 Of Arpad's marshal band;
 And Hunyadi's arms from slavery's yoke
 Once freed our fatherland.

Here did thy flag, O freedom swell,
 And red o'er battle wave,
 In long and deadly fight here fell
 The bravest of the brave.

In spite of fortune's angry frown
 Through war and strife's fell reign,
 Though bent, yet never broken down,
 Our people still remain.

The mighty world, the common land
 Of many nations, saith:
 "Ten centuries of war demand
 The fight for life or death!"

It cannot be that patriots true
 In freedom's cause so slain—
 And hearts by sorrows broken too,
 Were sacrificed in vain.

Such mind, and strength, and purpose high,
 They surely cannot be
 Foredoom'd to wither, droop and die
 By stern Fate's dark decree.

A time will come—a better time
 Must come, to hope we dare;
 Millions of fervent hearts incline
 To raise the nation's prayer.

But should there come a moment dread,
 An awful stroke of doom,
 A people's blood for freedom shed
 Shall lave our country's tomb.

The land in which a nation dies
All peoples will revere;
And millions then of weeping eyes
Will drop the mourning tear.

True to the land with steadfast faith
Ever then, Magyar be!
In life it nourish'd thee—in death
Its turf will cover thee.

What though the world is very wide,
No land with thine can vie;
Come weal or woe on fortune's tide,
Here must thou live and die.¹

It may be observed, that Vörösmarty evinced no inconsiderable skill in his translations of foreign poetry, the most successful of which is his version of the Julius Cæsar of Shakspeare. Next to him particular mention must be made of Bajza and Czuczor; the latter, one of the most enlightened ecclesiastics, issued several most genuine popular songs; as well as Garay, the most popular ballad writer, Kunos, Csasar, and Alexander Vachot, no less known poets, the latter belonging to more recent date. The Pegasus of Petöfi struck a more genuine and fresher fountain from the soil of Hungary. There is a greater carelessness and irregularity in his poems than is to be found in any of the preceding poets, though his works spread with a rapidity, and acquired a popularity, hitherto unknown. Nor did any one better understand the language of the people which, as may be remarked, is generally the most correct and most thoroughly idiomatic. Petöfi's muse is exceedingly fond of roaming along the endless plains of Lower Hungary—which, as he himself

¹ This version is due to Mr W. Jaffray.

says, opens to the eye like an unfolded letter—of visiting the lonely Csardas (taverns), of chatting with the shepherds and horsekeepers, and of quaffing with them the juice of the grape. But in the midst of all this sportfulness and hilarity she now and then utters a deep patriotic sigh, powerful enough to stir the heart of a whole nation. Critics at first raised a loud clamour against Petöfi's irregular verses, and bewailed their lame feet. But his poems had wings and flew into the hearts of the people. Petöfi is one of those poets who care little about what others say, and who speak out whether what they say be refined or coarse; many of his poems, however, are empty, and seem rather to be the offspring of momentary impulse and caprice, while the more serious of his songs

“Gush from the heart
As the tears from the eyelids start.”

The two following poems may serve as a fair specimen of his earlier productions—

THE LYRE AND THE SWORD.

A cloud o'er my country there hangs,
That tells of a storm approaching;
My soul in foreboding its pangs,
Gains strength to resist its encroaching.

The harp of my fingers is weary,
Too long have I struck it with pain;
Well knows it my heart has been dreary,
In wearing its strings out in vain.

But still in the corner there stands,
The sword that my fathers have wielded;
It longs for the touch of the hands,
The hands that my country have shielded.

FOR THEE, MY COUNTRY.

For thee, my country, still remains
The love my fathers bore ;
My heart its sadness but retains,
Till thou art free once more.

Thy altar let my breast enclose,
As in a holy fane ;
The temple may be crushed by foes,
But still will *it* remain !

For thee in prayer my voice will rise,
My soul with ardour glow ;
My bleeding breast, with bitter sighs,
Will curse my country's foe.

To none I tell the love I bear,
In secret I adore ;
But none the less esteem thee fair,
Or less the gods implore.

Not as my shadow follows me,
Revenge the tyrants' crime ;
But ebbing, flowing, like the sea,
I watch the proper time.

But as with night the shadows grow,
Till darkness hideth all,
The tyrant torrent's dark'ning flow,
My deeper griefs recall.

And when with wine my comrades seek
Their drooping souls to raise ;
With burning lips, though blanched cheek,
Their Magyar land they praise.

Then lift I too the goblet high,
The purple wine containing ;
But scalding tears stream from my eye,
The bitter draught in draining.

With the nearer approach to the memorable movement of 1848 Petöfi's effusions constantly increased in their earnestness and intensity. The horizon of his poetic vision become henceforth crimsoned with scenes of bloodshed; his spirit panting for "a spring of mighty war, when bloody roses blossom on the warriors' breast," and longing for a kiss,—

"Kiss from thee, O freedom! heavenly maiden!
Glorious Freedom! thou my heavenly bliss!"

The effect produced by these songs was unexampled, and would have been still greater had the poet been at liberty plainly to sing what lay at his heart, and had each verse not undergone the operation of the censor's scissors. The following poem, *The Prisoner and his Chain*, may be said to be one of the most successful in this style:—

THE PRISONER AND HIS CHAIN.

A youth in the battle of liberty fought,
When his comrades were routed and slain;
And thus to the dungeon a captive was brought,
And bound with a ponderous chain.

In the gloom of the dungeon, at heart unsubdued,
A hold of his fetters he took;
And deep with the spirit of freedom imbued,
These irons he cursed and he shook.

Then to him the chain in its anguish replied,
My sorrow is equal to thine;
Immured in this dungeon, to freedom denied,
Disconsolate grieving I pine.

So curse me not, captive, but constant me shake,
This echo let ever resound;
My din is a curse that attends in the wake
Of despots with tyranny crowned.

Alas, fellow captive ! thou dost not me know,—
 I gleam'd as a sword in the fight ;
 Perchance, in thy hands, have encounter'd the foe,
 Maintaining thy fatherland's right.

Unfortunate soldier ! where now dost thou meet
 With thy equally luckless sword ?
 But shake me ; incessant thy shakings repeat ;
 My clank is the tyrant's reward.

A chain they have made me, a sword at thy side
 For freedom determined and bold ;
 And thee, who in battle the tyrant defied,
 How dreadful to think that I hold !

This garment of rust that around me hath grown
 Betokens me grieving and pained ;
 But shake me ; my echo is sapping the throne
 With bloodshed and perjury stained.¹

Now we will only subjoin one of Petöfi's political songs, published shortly before the late war, in an album, which was printed out of Hungary, entitled, *My Songs*.

Oftentimes I sit in musing blind,
 And know not well the thoughts that snatch my mind ;
 Swift o'er my country's length I hover,
 Through the earth and all the wide world over ;
 And the strains such fantasy prolongs
 Are of my moonlike roaming soul the Songs.

Yet all these vagrant dreams are naught—
 Perchance the future rather needs a thought ?
 Why guess ? God's goodness is unended,
 And o'er my thoughtless lot will still be bended ;
 Then the careless notes that lift their tongues
 Are my butterfly-light soul's untroubled Songs.

¹ This poem is translated by Mr James Kemp.

When of a handsome maiden's charms aware,
Still farther off from me goes every care;
Deep do I gaze into her fine eye's trances,
As the star in a soft brook's dark water glances:
Notes of that rapture which to love belongs
Are then my wild-flower-ravished soul's low Songs.

Loves she me? My joy's full bliss I drink!
If not! Away to gulp my secret grief I shrink:
And where a glass and wine are glowing
There cheer full quickly through the gloom is growing:
Lays that then rise to me in festive throngs
Are my rainbow-revelling soul's uproarious Songs.

Yet while the ruddy glass in hand I grasp,
Round nations' hands the iron keeps its clasp:
And as merry as is the ring of glasses,
So mournful the clank of distant chains that passes:
Strains pierce me then like memory's hidden prongs,—
They are my cloud-wrapt soul's grief-blinded Songs.

But why so long remain the people bound?
Wherefore not burst the chain that girds them round?
Or wait they till of Heaven's good favour
The rust shall gnaw it from off their hands for ever!
Those sounds that break to me from freedom's wrongs,
Are my thunder-like wrathful soul's wild battle-Songs!

Petöfi continued to delight and stir up his countrymen down to 1848, when, retaining in one hand the lyre, he grasped the sword with the other to join the army of Bem in Transylvania, but disappeared from public view shortly before the end of the war in a bloody battle with the Cossacks. The poet who disputed the palm with Petöfi is Michael Tompa, who is as calm and regular as Petöfi is wild and irregular. Tompa's muse is an unpretending bashful girl, averse to mingle with politics and the higher destinies of man,

contented to peep into the spinning parties of the village girls, and to sing her lay on the beauties of country life and nature. His versification is easy and correct, and his productions have, upon the whole, a soothing character, which remind us of the poems of Longfellow.

No small addition was made to the general poetry by the collection of all the popular poems and songs in three volumes, a task accomplished by John Erdely, himself a poet. The reader would be greatly disappointed if he expected to find the genuine or the fabulous Magyar poetry in this collection. The romantic minstrelsy, strongly blended with the Hunnish legendry, and which lived on the lips of the people in the first century of their European existence, gradually died away amid the religious persecutions attending the introduction of Christianity under St Stephen, and had become extinct in the thirteenth century; when the earliest Latin chroniclers, the anonymous Notary of King Bela, and Kezai, had in their ignorant criticisms discarded the oral traditions, and refused to record the ancient songs, in order to have exclusive scope for their own speculations: even of the comparatively bright Hunyadi period only a few lines remained referring to the election of Matthias. The majority of these songs, though judging from their tenor they would seem to appertain to the fifteenth century, are undoubtedly the productions of a much later date. The greatest part of this collection bears, as must be remarked, the unmistakeable signs of quite recent transformation, and may safely be assumed to belong to the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. As such, it presents, in its absence of anything like boldness or high soaring imagination, the true mirror of those ages; for if the muses do not always flee the

din of arms, they can never dwell under the same roof with despair. It is the sword of conquest, like that of Rome, which sets the Hippocrene a boiling—that of unceasing self-defence against enemies without and within, as the sword of Hungary was, will dry it up. The best of these poems, the melancholy ones, are the utterances of hearts wedded to sorrow and half reconciled to weariness, turning amid occasional longing and fitful emotions to the inanimate beings around them, sure at least from them to meet with no angry look or rude rebuff. Thus we see the shepherd; like an erring wind, at once fly over the rolling waves of the rivers, touch the green meadows, pass by the steeple of the church, and then alight on his flock of sheep, and return to himself. Besides, the wild, scarcely unaccountable sallies from one object to quite a different one, so peculiar to most of these poems, is their sudden transition in the same verse from a truly poetic image into an empty unsavoury truism. Such was properly the history of the people, precipitated into the depths of misery and shame, before rightly aware that they just waved on the tide of victory. This frequent intercourse with nature often happens in the way of extempore apostrophising, not excepting even the short-lived yellow May fly; or, in the way of simple comparison, as in the following lines :—

The Danube's waters downward flow,
Yet to its bosom still new fountains swell;
But should from me my loved one go,
O who her place will fill, pray tell me, tell!

At evening, when the sun's at rest,
The thirsty plants by sweet dew drops are fed;
When my love faithless leaves my breast,
Into my eyes the dew-drops too are shed!

In some instances this soliloquizing, if coupled with love, carries away the shepherd so far as to confound life and death, and in despair he "hastens up the hill, there to dig for himself a grave, to see whether he is loved by any who would plant a garland on his tomb," while in a more moderate grief he is apt to confound his tears dropping down on his *bunda* (sheepskin cloak) with the falling rain :—

I fancied that rain from the heavens did fall,
So fitful and coldly the moonlight is gleaming;
Alas! only tears from my eyelids are streaming,
As vainly I seek her sweet breath to recall.

My dovelet is lying, all pallid and cold;
My voice cannot rouse her, my touch not awake her;
And from me to bury, I know they will take her,
Though wherein to lay her, by none am I told.

In trying to account for the irregularity and want of connection so apparent in these compositions, Erdely justly remarks that they must be heard and not seen. To this remark we think it necessary to add, that many songs now represented as one whole, no doubt originally formed as many different songs as there now are verses, and owe their close connection to no other link of sympathy than the tune to which they were originally sung. But if the taste of the people makes the words entirely subservient to the lay, which is likewise more melodious than harmonious, the chief defect of the former lies in the effort to catch a rhyme, which to the Hungarian people seems to be as necessary a requisite in song as the jingle of the spur is to the national dance, the *Csardas*. The rendering of such poetry into another language may thus easily be ima-

gined to be a matter of no common difficulty, which is enhanced, moreover, by the peculiar meaning in which many epithets are used. "Sweet," for example, is the synonym for "dear," and "my soul" (*lelkem*) for "my love," hence the expressions, *I eat thy sweet, small,* or *prayerful lips,* or *I eat thy sweet soul*,—expressions which can neither be literally translated nor find any adequate substitutes.

The least interesting part of this collection, comprising every poem extant to the present day, both noble and scurrilous, are the *Mondak* stories in prose, in which we are continually introduced to three princes or as many princesses or countesses, and scarcely meet with a single poetic thought to vary the insipid burden. These can have been nothing else than the imitations of some dull disciple of a wearied brother of the cell.

Even one or two of these stories, which turn on the life and adventures of a shepherd, form a striking contrast to the shepherd songs. Of the latter the following is one of the most popular, and is endeared by the wild melancholy tune to which it is sung:—

I dwell on the heath through sunshine or snow,
And on holidays I with my dear can go;
But far on the Hortobagy plain,
In vain to God's house would I hie—in vain!

Flat is the heath, where no trees do grow,
The high steeple top in the sun doth show,
The tall church spire to the heath is plain,
But far from God's house I must still remain!

I'd pray, but no prayer at all I know,
I never to school in my life did go—
My mother would thither have sent me fain,
But ah! long, long in the grave she has lain!

Pray thou to good God, my dovelet, go—
Come after church, thy kiss to bestow—
Thy prayerful sweet lips I'll devour again,
And more than a fortnight from oaths refrain!

Of the wine or drinking songs found in this collection, some of which are utterly untranslatable from the idiomatic expressions, and which are the utterances of an open heart and unrestrained mind, the succeeding lines may suffice to convey some idea:—

Away with water!
It tastes not to the tongue—
Give me wine, wine!
'Tis wine that makes me young!

If fury vex my soul,
Or grief my spirit wound,
I fill the bowl with wine, with wine!
Then grief and care are drowned.

Let the keen wind blow—
Here my full flask I hold;
And looking at the wine, the wine!
What reck I of cold?

Ah, lukewarm life!
What wert thou without wine?
Had I not drunk of wine, of wine!
Even in the other world would I repine.

Full of the joyous grape
Even Noah, holy man, became—
Why therefore not drink wine,
I, poor sinner that I am!

Nor do I spare it—
No tax my throat restrains,
Which still shall flow with wine, with wine!
So long as life remains!

The following will be found more characteristic:—

WINE SONG.

Away with grief, away with pain,
Let us bathe our throats in wine,
And quaff it to a tuneful strain.
Wine for me—the joyous vine,
Whose sap can make one strong.
Who drinks not wine, the Magyar name
To him may not belong!

The fish loves water for its part,
No fish's shape is *mine*!
For me the wine that warms the heart—
Born beside Tokay's vine,
What's water unto me?
Whoever drinketh not of wine
No Magyar can be.

Cold beer the lazy Germans swill,
We quaff the grape with song,
For beer from water they distil,
Two-pints-a-penny strong—
Wine to me bring here,
Who drinks it not, the Magyar name
He holds not ever dear!

The Slavonian brandy loves—
With wine our blood can glow,
Nor with their fiery liquor proves
The stuff of life below—
Let wine my glass o'erflow;
Who loves not wine, the Magyar name
He cannot truly know!

Winter or summer, wine is good,
In winter it is fire;
In summer it is hunger's food—
Our glasses wine require.
Wine then let us pour;

Who holds not forth, the Magyar name
On him should rest no more!

Pass maiden, with thy cheek so fine,
In thirst no kiss I ask;
Off monk, that dusty book of thine,
And each who bears no flask—
So wine to me bring in;
Who calls not so, the Magyar name
Disdains his icy kin!

The romances or ballads for the most part relating to characters something like that of Robin Hood, must be confessed to be rather meagre productions. We shall therefore give two specimens of the modern ballad writing as that is best represented in the Arpad ballads (Arpadok) of Garay:—

LEHEL AND HIS HORN.

The tale of Lehel's loud horn
From the fine old days lived late,
And great as the fame of his horn,
So the might of his arm was great.

One of the chieftains seven,
From Asia came Lehel of old,
His horn the great call of his tribe
When to battles of blood they rolled.

When triumphed the race of Arpad,
Lehel's horn their victory hailed—
And when they were vanquished in fight,
Their sorrowful chance it bewailed.

Now, in Lehel's long raven locks
There mingled the down of the swan,

And his horn, that hung by his haunch,
Seemed the token of days that were gone.

Too many brave Lehel's battles—
Though but once he great shame sustained,
Where by Augsburg's walls he sank,
By Otho the emperor chained.

There, like grass by the scythe, his men
Fell mowed to the hindermost rank—
Twenty thousand fell on the field,
In the Lech twenty thousand sank.

Himself by a German's lance
Was hurled from his steed to the ground,
Till, grappling with four of his foes,
The warrior was wounded and bound.

Bound hand and foot, like a robber,
To the emperor's court he was brought,
To the pompous court of Otho,
Full of revel for victory wrought.

There bloody the sentences passed
On the living and over the dead—
Fain would Otho's hyæna-delight
Twice mangle each Magyar head.

The butchery yet is unfinished,
When to Otho a thought doth rush,
For those Magyars seven remaining—
Seven they were, all in manhood's flush.

All seven the emperor pardons—
Yet harder their fate became,
For with noses and ears shorn off,
They are branded by scorn and shame.

In a boat of the Rhine they are thrown,
To follow the Danube's track—

"Tell the Magyars," said Otho, with sneers,
"If they come, it is thus they go back!"

Still trickle the wounds of Lehel,
Who fitfully shakes his chain,
And he cannot live in his shame,
And he cannot die from his pain.

"Why tarry?" spoke Lehel in rage,
"Why spare me some fiercer fate?
Haggle no more with my life,
If the ransom you still await.

"Thy fate is come," said the emperor,
"And being a chief thou shalt fall;
But ere to the axe thou goest
A boon thou canst give to us all.

"Thy brave horn hung by thy side,
Whose fame through the world is blown—
As is said, to old Arpad's race
It has sounded of joy alone.

"What I long to hear now from thee,
Is a strain that of woe may tell—
Blow the funeral note to thy comrades,
And then, if thou wilt, thy farewell."

Thus spoke the emperor, jeering,
And played with his captive's state—
Then said Lehel at once, "I will;"
For the thought which aroused him was great.

Unbound were his chains from off him,
And then grasped Lehel once more
His treasure—his soundful friend,
That now his last purpose bore.

And before the emperor stepping
He swelled no dirge from his throat;

But with both hands lifting the horn
At Otho's red forehead he smote.

"Go *first* to the world of death," he said,
"There seek, if thou needest a slave—
But if ghosts of servants have need,
Then will Otho serve Lehel the brave!"

Thus he spoke—his last words they were :
Horn and Hero still mute remain—
The Horn was split on the front of Otho,
Lehel by many a sword fell slain.

The following is the concluding ballad of Garay's
book :—

THE LAST OF THE ARPADS.¹

In Buda's lofty castle towers in the chapel of Saint John,
Behind the mighty dead in pomp the funeral sweeps on ;
The covering of velvet, the coffin all of gold,
Tell of the rank and royal state that coffin doth enfold.

The old and young, the rich and poor, are crowding one and all,
Grief sits on every face, from every eye the tear drops fall ;
The tolling bells are mingling their melancholy boom ;
Who is it to be buried ? who closed within the tomb ?

The last branch of an ancient root that from an ancient day
Had flourished in the Magyar land, and over it held sway :
The blood drops last and latest of the Arpad line so brave—
King Andrew's corpse the mourning crowd are following to the
grave.

¹ The last Arpad king, Andrew III., died, as was related, in 1301, without leaving male issue ; the States irreconciled to the idea of a female rule, having refused to crown his daughter Elizabeth, who afterwards took the veil. The history of this unfortunate princess will be known to some readers from Kingsley's *Saints' Tragedy*.

By God's decree this noble tree was planted in the land ;
The seed came from fair Asia's plains unto Carpathia's strand ;
Through twice two hundred years it grew, and shot its stem on
high ;
Through twice two hundred years its leaves were green against
the sky.

Many and fierce the stormy blasts this tree has had to stand,
And many a branch was wrenched away by time and tempest's
hand ;
But now the scythe of death has lopped the latest bough away—
Dies with their king—king Andrew, the Arpad line for aye.

Round Andrew's bier with many a tear the sorrowing people
throng ;
Beside the last of Arpad's house to vanish, and ere long
Even the guardian angel of the Magyar must weep,
Quenching its torch among the clods where Andrew soon must
sleep.

But who is this that kneeleth, bending low beside the bier,
Muttering a prayer while kneeling there, and shedding many a
tear,
In garb of woe, from top to toe, in a black veil bedight,
Looking like daybreak bursting on the middle hour of night.

It is the poor Elizabeth, orphaned by yonder bier,
So full of charms, so pleasant, like the spring time of the year ;
'Tis she, the beautiful, alas ! orphan of fatherland,
Her soul and body like a flower crushed by the frost's cold hand.

High o'er her head the stormy clouds are gathering to break,
And above her and around her a thicker darkness make ;
And faction's twining serpent, and intrigue's spider net,
Leagued in a dark conspiracy, her every path beset.

Against this dastard host has risen a brave and gallant knight
To shield the last of Arpad's blood with the weapons of his
might—
Matthias Csak the pillar of this house august and old,—
Not two such sons the Magyar land within its bounds doth hold.

This veteran for the regal house thinks life a forfeit due,
 For freedom and for fatherland he bursts his heart in two ;
 He struggles like a giant man, alas ! in vain, in vain,
 For on the throne, of Arpad's race, no king shall sit again.

Andrew descends forevermore into the 'chilly tomb ;
 Not for the throne Elizabeth, for her the convent's gloom ;
 And the brave knight who for her right so nobly stood alone,
 Is crushed beneath the ruins of the Arpads' ancient throne.

Before again returning to politics, we shall insert one other poem "The Stork," which, as will be seen from its contents, was written after the end of the late war, and which became known in the country by means of secret circulation in manuscript. Lower Hungary, as some of the readers will perhaps be aware, is the favourite abode of the storks, who build their nests on the low thatched cottages, which they leave on the approach of winter, and which they never miss in finding when they return with gay spring. Of this poem, which exhibits a noble unaffected pathos, we are enabled to present a close but graceful rendering.

TO THE STORK.

The winter time is over and the fields are growing green,
 And thou once more art here, bird so good,
 To build thy nest again where it before hath been,
 To hatch therein again thy feathery fledging brood.

Away ! away ! be cheated not,
 By the sunbeams glittering quiver,
 By the babbling of the river ;
 Away ! spring comes not to the spot,
 Life is benumbed and frozen up for ever.

Oh walk not through the fields, there is nothing there but graves !
 Oh roam not by the lake side ! blood-crimsoned are its waves ;
 Oh fly not to the house tops ! all there that thou shalt find
 Are but the reeking embers that ruin left behind.

Leave my house, nor tarry here—
 Yet whither canst thou go
 To build again thy nest, where, oh where!
 Above thee like a fear
 Hangs God's curse, and thou shalt hear
 The wailing of despair
 From below.

Fly away to the south where the sun waits for thee,
 Good bird fly away thou art gladder than we.
 Fate gave thee two countries, we only had one,
 And that one is lost and forever undone.

Fly away! good bird, away!

If thou meetest in thy flying
 With our wanderers in the south, to them say,
 We are fading fast away—

We are dying—

We are scattered far and wide
 Like a sheaf by storm untied—
 Some lie within the tomb;
 Some in the prison's gloom;

Others wander in their sadness, dumb with woe—

Some with a start arise,
 Terror gleaming in their eyes,

To seek another fatherland beyond the Atlantic's flow.

No bride is longing sadly
 For the one to her so dear;
 No parent weepeth madly
 Beside his children's bier;
 Old age is smiling gladly
 To think its end is near.

Tell our brethren who wander

That shame shall be our part,
 Shame ne'er to be uprooted

Like the oak tree at whose heart
 Cling the worms that devour it.

As among us day by day
 Neighbour ploteth against neighbour
 Ever trying to betray,
 And kinsman against kinsman
 Speaketh lying words alway.

Away, good bird away, give this message to the keeping
 Of thy silence lest the traitor should hear it and betray.
 Tell it not to those who wandering for fatherland are weeping,
 Lest their sorrow turn to loathing of the glad home far away.

We turn now from poetry to science.

The scientific department of literature was chiefly represented by the Academy of Science, called into life in 1830. As regards the organization of this institution, its labours were divided into the following departments, — philology, philosophy, jurisprudence, natural science and history. But as general politics were excluded from their discussions by order of government, the reader may imagine that in jurisprudence and history, especially modern, the researches existed only in the imagination. The merits of this academy in reference to the culture of the Hungarian language are justly entitled to praise, though more was done in that line by the individual efforts of Fagarossy, Vajda, Block, and Szvorenny. One of the great errors committed by this body was its wasting much time in the discussion of abstract scientific questions, clearly expounded in the literature of the more civilized nations, and in works which might have been introduced with little trouble and expense. In fact, there was an apparent want of practical sense in the proceedings of this academy; for, instead of furnishing the nation with some valuable contributions to the earlier periods of Hungarian history, a task which would not have been much subjected to the mutilations of the censor, these *savants* often squandered their energies on far-fetched speculations appertaining to the animal kingdom, or on such subjects as the ancient costume of the Magyars, efforts not the best fitted to raise the national

intellect.¹ Of greater practical utility was the Kisfaludi Society, which issued many works of a character at once more popular and more useful.

In spite of many defects inherent in a rising literature, the activity and zeal with which the cultivation of the native language and letters was carried on promised a rich future. Many who had already gained a name in the field of German literature, or were entirely engaged with it, began to apply themselves to the study and culture of the Hungarian; a fact too important to be here omitted. An unmistakeable sign of the spread of the Hungarian language among the

¹ In philology and antiquarian research, in which branches the academy was best represented, particular mention must be made of Stephen Harvat; of Fejer, who lately published a book on the origin of the Cumans; of Koller, the minister of the Protestant Slave community at Pesth; and of Schedius. In philosophy, the name of Purgstaller stands foremost. It would, however, be unjust to pass by here without mention Dr Toldi, the secretary to the academy. Toldi, besides doing much to make the Hungarian known among the Germans, greatly contributed to the culture of the national idiom in Hungary; his energy not slackening even now in most unpropitious circumstances. The task this learned man has proposed to himself is the publication of a complete national library, comprising the three last centuries. His latest work is a history of Hungarian literature (*Magyar Irodalom Története*), which, however, though amply proving the author's research, is scarcely more than an index of unknown books and manuscripts. Under the head Hun Poetry, for example, all we are told is, that Priscus Rhetor saw how Attila used to be entertained at his court by a maiden chorus singing various Scythian lays; and that it is highly to be regretted that the said Priscus did not record some of these songs. What is wanted in Hungary is something in the style of Sismondi, Gervinus, or the recent brief *History of English Literature* by Spalding.

different races of the country was the successive issue of grammars and Hungarian-German dictionaries, both by the Academy and private authors, and which, though passing through several editions, were scarcely sufficient to supply the demand.

And now to resume our political history—

The time for the new Diet approached, and the questions which chiefly took hold of the public mind, were the complete emancipation of the serfs, and the participation by the nobles of a share in the burdens of the state. It may, however, here be remarked, that the principle of general taxation involved the question of a guarantee for a due and constitutional administration of finance; that is to say of publicity and responsibility. The public revenue of Hungary, it must be stated, amounted to thirty million of florins, a sum small indeed compared with the extent of the country, but too much for the treasury of Vienna; as the expenses attending the internal administration of Hungary were defrayed from the *cassa domestica* (house-tax), not included in the above amount. Among the aristocrats, those who strongly advocated the cause of the reform party, and identified themselves with it, were the Counts Louis and Casimir Batthyany, Ladislaus Teleki, and Baron Eötvös, the head of the centralists, and Baron Bela Venkheim; Szecheny keeping aloof alike from conservatives and reformers. This nobleman, having about this time abandoned all political questions to their fate, gave himself up with all his energies to the farther carrying out of practical improvements. Much connected as his name is with the introduction of steam communication on the Danube, and the erection of the magnificent suspension

bridge at Buda-Pesth, Szecheny deserves the gratitude of his countrymen for the regulation of the Theiss, the largest river in Hungary after the Danube, and the establishment of a Theiss steam-boat company. In his last book, entitled, "The Political Programme," published in 1847, Szecheny proclaimed war against the whole reform party, mingling in his usual way his political argumentations with visions and strange prophecies. Some of his predictions, though in consequence of events not surmised by him, were fulfilled with a precision calculated to fill the heart of every Hungarian with awe; while in some other cardinal points the noble count proved a false prophet. Szecheny beheld in the visions which he so glowingly described the rising of the Hungarian peasantry against their masters, and proclaimed the Hungarian sword to be blunt and rusty. In both these points he was signally mistaken, for during the course of the memorable events that soon followed, the Hungarian peasant showed himself magnanimous, and the safest defender of public order; and the Hungarian sword proved bright and trenchant, more powerful than it ever had been since the days of Matthias Hunyadi.

Thus did Hungary draw near to the unexpected drama.

Compared with other civilized countries of Europe, Hungary stood far behind in art, science, and general culture, a circumstance sufficiently accounted for by its geographical position and peculiarly tragic history. It had, however, many things to boast of, which might be looked for in vain among the more cultivated neighbouring nations. While in other more advanced countries life became reduced to the operation of arithmetical calculations, in Hungary it flowed in its natural

channel, free alike from artificial refinements and their concomitant vices. Virtue needed there no stimulus from conventional rules, nor relied for support on the scaffoldings of outward ceremonies and decorum, but lived on the spontaneous and fresh running fountain of the heart. One of the first ornaments of life, hospitality, which had become well nigh extinct in other nations as they progressed in power and riches, still remained in Hungary undiminished, and, so to speak, a vital element of society, whether among lords or peasants,—affording an undeniable proof of inherent nobleness of mind in the people. By this hospitality must not be understood merely that inclination which makes man now and then desirous of sharing his meal with his friends, but that irresistible impulse which causes the heart of man to long for the intercourse of his fellow creatures, and to find delight in opening to his guest without restraint the thoughts of his mind and the feelings of his heart. Openness speaks well for individual character; and what a criterion is it not, if it constitutes the prominent characteristic of a whole people?

CHAPTER X.

THE DIET OF 1847-8—NOMINATION OF A HUNGARIAN
MINISTRY—THE REFORM LAWS—COMMENCEMENT
OF INTERNAL TROUBLES—CONVOCATION OF THE
DIET AT PESTH—OPEN WAR—PESTH TAKEN BY
THE AUSTRIANS.—(1847-1849.)

THE year 1847 was chiefly taken up with the elections, which, as in Britain, were not always the result of conviction, and which were rendered particularly lively in Hungary from the large quantities of wine consumed on such occasions. Both parties, conservative as well as liberal, exhibited a like activity in their efforts to secure the return of their respective candidates. And though the former commanded much influence by the aid of the royal administrators, it became nevertheless evident that in the coming Diet the liberals would have the majority in the Lower House, in carrying at least some of the intended reforms. Several of the most prominent of the liberal aristocracy, as the Counts Louis and Casimir Batthyany, and Count Raday, threw all the weight of their influence into the scale to obtain the return of Kossuth for the county of Pesth. In this effort they succeeded, despite the counter endeavours of the court party. Szecheny also preferred to sit in the Lower House,

but was disappointed in his expectation to become the head of a party.

The Diet was opened at Presburg in November of the same year, the liberals numbering almost all who were known for their exertions in the cause of progress, besides being strengthened by the union of the Kossuth party and the so-called centralists. The conservatives, consisting of many high officials and obsequious courtiers, put forth their political creed in a programme. The liberals straightway followed their example. In the manifesto of the latter party, the necessity of the following reforms was set forth:—*1st*, General taxation without any distinction between nobles and non-nobles; *2d*, Further reforms in the laws relating to the feudal system; *3d*, Equality of all classes of the population before the law; *4th*, The establishment of a responsible Hungarian ministry instead of the two irresponsible central courts of Buda-Pesth; *5th*, The liberty of the press, as well as the union of Transylvania with Hungary. “We shall continue,” thus runs the concluding part of this programme, “we shall continue with unwearied zeal to make use of every effort in our power for the attainment of these objects, without being unmindful of the relations which, in accordance with the Pragmatic Sanction, exists between Hungary and the Austrian hereditary States. But, while we shall carefully avoid placing the interests of Hungary in opposition to those of the entire monarchy, or rendering them incompatible with its unity and safety, we shall not suffer these interests to be rendered subservient in an unreasonable and illegal manner to those of the other States of the empire, as is actually the case, in respect to our manufacturing industry and our commercial relations. We

cannot tolerate a system that would sacrifice our interests, and even our constitution, to the so-called administrative-unity. It was in the last quarter of the past century that the government by acting on this system, and by offering us material advantages in exchange for our constitutional rights, attempted to subvert the nationality and independence of Hungary. It is to this system, developed as it has constantly been, on the principles of absolutism, that all the free institutions of the Austrian hereditary States have been sacrificed. Our constitution is, however, a treasure which we cannot sacrifice for any advantages whatsoever.

“ We are convinced that if the old constitutional rights and liberties of the Austrian hereditary States still existed, if these States in conformity with the demands of the age, and the principles of equity and justice, could be ranked amongst the constitutional nations of Europe, we are convinced, we say, that our interests could then be easily combined with those which are at present in conflict with, and even inimical to, them ; and that by a greater unity of interests, and a greater degree of confidence being thus established, every part of the empire would be invigorated, and knit together by a common tie, and the united monarchy, by a guarantee being thus afforded for its material and intellectual development, be enabled to brave with impunity the storms and convulsions by which it might hereafter be assailed.”

The first act of the Diet, which was opened by Ferdinand V. (who produced no common joy by pronouncing his speech in Magyar), was the election of a palatine in the person of the Arch-duke Stephen, son of the palatine Joseph, who had shortly before died.

Immediately after followed the debates on the propositions made by the crown, which hinted at the necessity of reform on some most important points. After a long and animated discussion on the address, which gave the first opportunity to the two parties of measuring their strength, the liberals, headed by Kossuth, obtained a majority in the Lower House in favour of a draft, which set forth specifically the known grievances, such as the nomination of administrators, as well as the want of any guarantee for the proper execution of the laws. This draft was rejected by the Upper House, and the Commons, according to usage, determined to shelve it altogether, rather than answer the royal speech in the style of vague commonplace. Thus ended the first manœuvre. Former diets had already enacted laws, in virtue of which every peasant holding tenure lands was entitled to redeem himself and his tenure, either by paying to the lord of the soil an adequate sum at once, or for short periods, proportioned to the money he was able to raise. Further steps were now thought necessary to render these laws more practical and efficient. The topic, however, which chiefly engrossed the attention of the States was the principle of general taxation. In regard to this important question many of the conservatives agreed that the nobles should pay the county rates, and contribute towards the establishment of a national fund, which was to be applied to the foundation of roads, and the furtherance of other public works. They objected, however, to be assessed for the war tax; and, above all, refused to acknowledge their liability to be taxed along with the rest of the community. The final solution of all these points was, however, long delayed, owing to the usual dilatory proceedings of the Upper House.

Nor is it necessary to say, that both lay and spiritual lords, were far from suspecting how little they would in this instance gain from delay. More unanimity prevailed with respect to the language question, which was again brought before the house. In spite of the former laws enjoining the use of the Magyar tongue, Latin and German continued to be used in many departments of administration. To obviate this a bill was introduced to the following effect: 1st, That with the exception of the *partes adnexae* (meaning Croatia and Slavonia) the Magyar should be adopted in the schools and all the departments of public administration. 2d, That the vessels of the Hungarian Littorale should bear the Hungarian flag. As to Croatia itself and the three Slavonic counties it was provided that in their correspondence with the mother country they should employ the Magyar. The bill was passed by the Lower House almost unanimously, and when it came before the Lords a short discussion arose in reference to the alteration of certain expressions which it contained. Count Dominik Teleki spoke in favour of the bill, supporting his argument by pointing to Britain and Ireland, where neither Irish nor Welsh, but the English alone, was the vehicle of national intercourse. But this question, as well as others of greater moment, previously referred to, were soon to give way before a new turn of events which followed—the intelligence of the French revolution of February.

The first effect produced by this news in Austria itself was a general distrust in the solvency of the Bank, and the consequent anxiety of the people to exchange the bank-notes for something more substantial. A similar feeling soon manifested itself in Hungary, and especially in Presburg, the seat of the Diet. Thus it hap-

pened that certain conservatives, anxious to ascertain the real condition of the Bank of Vienna, brought that question before the house on the third of March. On this occasion Kossuth rose, and while, on the one hand, he strove to calm the apprehensions entertained as to the public credit of Austria, he reminded the States on the other hand, of the unprepared condition in which the first French revolution had found them, and after recommending to them the necessity of raising their views in accordance with the importance of the moment, so as to act at once as loyal subjects and true citizens, concluded with the proposition of the following address to the throne:—"Your Majesty,—Events which have recently transpired impose upon us the imperative duty of directing your attention to those exigencies which our fidelity towards the reigning house, the legal relations of the monarchy at large, and our love for our country prescribe. Reverting to the history of the past, we are reminded that for three centuries not only have we been hindered from giving free development to the constitutional spirit of our country, in accordance with the demands of the time, but our most zealous efforts have with difficulty succeeded in preserving it. The cause of this has been that the government of Your Majesty has not followed a constitutional direction, and consequently has been at variance with the independent character of our government. This alone has hitherto prevented the development of the constitutional system in Hungary; and it is clear that unless the direction be changed, and Your Majesty's government is made to harmonise with constitutional principles, the throne of Your Majesty, no less than the monarchy itself, endeared to us by virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction, will be placed in

a state of perplexity and danger, the end of which we cannot foresee, and which must entail unspeakable misery upon our country. Having been called together by Your Majesty for the purpose of carrying out measures of reform, we have resolved, that upon the basis of an equal taxation we will take our share in those public burdens by which the expenses of the municipal administration has hitherto been defrayed, and provide for what farther shall be required. We have also resolved to free the country from feudal burdens, indemnifying at the same time the proprietors of the soil; and thus, by reconciling the interests of the people and the nobility, to strengthen the throne of Your Majesty, and establish it upon the wellbeing of the country at large. One of the most important of our tasks is to alleviate the burdens of the peasantry, as regards the quarterings and the necessary provisions for the soldiery. Believing in the necessity of reform, as regards the municipalities of the towns and districts, we are likewise of opinion that the time has arrived for granting political rights to the people. *The country has a right to expect measures to be carried out for raising our industrial resources, our commerce, and our agriculture.* At the same time the spirit of our constitution demands free development under a true representative system, and the intellectual interests of the nation likewise demand support, based upon freedom. Our military institutions require a thorough reform,—a reform the urgency of which is pressed upon us by a regard to Your Majesty's throne and the safety of our country. We cannot longer consent to a postponement of the constitutional application of the state revenues of Hungary, and the rendering an exact account of the revenue and expenditure. In en-

tertaining several of these questions it becomes requisite, from our relations with the hereditary provinces, to reconcile as far as possible our mutual interests, and reserving in all cases our national rights and independence, we readily offer to those countries the hand of brotherhood. We are moreover convinced, that all measures proposed as aids to our constitutional progress, and to the elevation of the moral and material condition of our country, can only attain real value and vitality when a national government shall exist independent of foreign influence, which may give its sanction to such measures; and which, based on true constitutional principles, shall be responsible to the nation, the voice of which it will duly represent. For these reasons it is that we consider the conversion of the present system of a government by boards and commissions into a responsible Hungarian ministry, the chief condition, the most essential guarantee of all measures of reform." This address having been carried by general acclamation, was sent to the Upper House, when their Lordships, on the plausible pretext that the palatine, the president of the house, was absent in Vienna, refused to take it under their consideration at all. The more easily to avoid the pressure of the moment, the magnates resolved to suspend their sittings altogether till the arrival of the Arch-duke; and to secure themselves completely against the importunities of the Lower House, the *Judex Curiae* and *Tavernicus*, the two legal substitutes of the palatine, betook themselves also to Vienna, and thus left the Upper House without a president. This proceeding, as might have been expected, evoked severe censure from the Lower House, and the bold front the Commons then assumed might easily have been taken as symptoms of the prox-

imity of a new political atmosphere. Happy enough to elude public opinion for a few days, the magnates in their turn had the mortification to see the official dignitaries speedily quit Vienna, where they were overtaken by the revolution of March 13th, and return to Presburg, soon to be overborne by the demands of the day.

An additional impulse imparted to the legislators of Presburg was the new spirit which manifested itself in Pesth. In this capital the youth of the University, emboldened by the simultaneous arrival of the news from Vienna and elsewhere, determined to present a petition to the Diet, comprehending the following demands:—1st, An annual Diet at Pesth; 2d, Equality before the law; 3d, The Hungarian regiments to be sworn to the constitution, and the establishment of a national guard; 4th, The liberation of all political prisoners; 5th, The liberty of the press. This movement, though greatly exaggerated at Presburg, was undoubtedly an unmistakeable manifestation of a new order of things about to dawn on Hungary; and though these ardent youths in those moments little thought at what price such liberties must be bought, they showed much zeal in immediately carrying into effect the last two of the said points. On the 14th of March they assembled to the number of several thousands, and proceeded to the castle of Buda, where they liberated from prison Stancis, a man who, with the education of a peasant, had afterwards risen by his unaided exertions to the position of an author, and who, for having expressed his opinions on the wrongs of Hungary in a rather uncourteous and straightforward way, had been for several years sighing in a dungeon. The other state-prisoner rescued was Murgo, an advocate of

Wallachian nationality, and subsequently member of the Diet during the war. The sins of this man are as yet a profound secret, as also was the fact of his incarceration up to the moment he was set free, when it was accidentally divulged by a washerwoman. With regard to the liberty of the press, the students, headed by several young literati, proceeded—without asking permission from the Austrian censor—straight to the most known printing-office, and inaugurated the new era of literary freedom by publishing a poem written for the occasion by Petöfi.

Under similar circumstances both houses met, March 14th, when the address was carried unanimously, and presented to the king by a deputation consisting of several members of the legislature. In the meantime the people of Vienna had achieved a triumph over the court and the upholders of the ancient system; the emperor, obliged to discharge his old ministers, was forced to promise a constitution, the abolition of the censorship, and the establishment of a national guard. Amid all these events, however, in addition to the troubled state of Italy, the court still expected to gain something by delay, and therefore took several days to consider the proposals of the Hungarian Diet; till at last the resolution was taken, and Count Louis Batthyany was charged with the formation of a Hungarian ministry. The administration consisted of the following members:—Home Affairs, Szemere; Foreign, Prince Paul Esterhazy; Justice, Deak; Finance, Kossuth; Public Works, Count Stephen Szecheny; Public Instruction, Baron Eötvös; Commerce, Klauzal; War, Meszaros. As the names of the ministers for foreign affairs and war have not occurred in the foregoing pages, a few words may be here said concerning their respective

characters. Prince Esterhazy, the owner of the largest landed property in Hungary, was the most conspicuous among those magnates who, glad to forget, amid the enjoyments and showy distinctions of the Viennese court, their own country, its laws and language, contented themselves with spending in foreign countries their vast annual revenues raised by the manual labour of thousands of serfs. Too well aware of the influence commanded by wealth in the diplomatic world, the astute Metternich selected Esterhazy for the flattering post of Austrian ambassador at the court of St James, and thus it happened that, from the sumptuous manner of his life, and his gorgeous diamond mantle, the name of this magnate soon became familiar in the diplomatic vocabulary, despite his deficiency in those qualities which constitute a statesman. In calling Esterhazy to the port-folio of foreign affairs, Count Batthyany had a double object in view, first to attach thereby that prince to the interests of his country, and by that means to attract to Hungary the attention of the cabinets of Europe. Such anticipations, however, were to be entirely disappointed. Esterhazy chose to play the part of a shallow and obsequious courtier rather than assume a position which might have conferred upon him a name similar to that of Lorenzo di' Medici. The moment Hungary became really threatened with danger, Esterhazy ceased to exist for Hungary. Of a totally different stamp was and still is Meszaros. Though grown grey in Austrian service, and in the camp of Radetzky, at the very time of his nomination this minister retained immaculate his patriotic feelings, and (what is still more strange) brought to his new office a deeper and wider knowledge of the exact sciences than any other member of the Batthyany ad-

ministration. But transplanted suddenly from a sphere of the strictest military discipline into a newly transformed society, just on the point of being precipitated into the gulf of revolution, Meszaros was not adequate to the energetic and daring measures expected from a minister of war. In short, Meszaros had the qualities required for a good minister of justice, without the boldness and resolution indispensable for a man whose office was to organize and govern a revolutionary army. This administration, however, was upon the whole a happy combination, and truly deserved the name of the "*talented ministry*." That its being called into life was both against the stomach and conscience of the Viennese court, and that the apparent sincere sanction of a responsible Hungarian administration as the final and most effective improvement upon the Hungarian constitution by the Hapsburg dynasty, was chiefly owing to the peculiar circumstances in question, is scarcely necessary to mention; although it is not superfluous to remark that, from what then took place in the hereditary States, it was firmly anticipated that the whole of the Austrian empire was to enter upon a constitutional life.

But to return to Presburg. Abandoning the usual way of saying much and doing nothing, the legislators resumed their labours about the end of March, with an energy and tone which damped the proud resistance of carnal and false doctors, and which transformed Hungary into a really free realm. The following summary of the laws enacted will give a clear idea of the long contested victory of reason over prejudice and injustice. Among the thirty-one articles passed, these are the more prominent:—1st, An annual Diet is to be held at Pesth, and the members to be no longer

bound as hitherto by instructions from the counties. 2d, The king cannot dissolve the Diet before the budget is settled by the assembly. 3d, The president of the Upper House to be appointed by the king, and that of the Lower elected by ballot. 4th, The right of election awarded to every Hungarian above the age of twenty who possesses in town property to the value of L.30, and in the county a corresponding value of land. 5th, The elective franchise also conferred, irrespective of their income, upon physicians, lawyers, teachers, and all other learned professions, as well as upon manufacturers and tradesmen. 6th, The Diet to consist of 446 members: 377 for Hungary and the annexed territories, viz., Croatia and the three Slavonian counties; and 69 for Transylvania, whose union with Hungary had been decreed. 7th, Each deputy to receive a daily allowance of 10s. per diem, besides a sum adequate to defray his house rent. 8th, The principle of general taxation to be adopted for all classes of the population, and a general plan of taxation to be laid before the next Diet by the ministers. 9th, The *robot*, i.e., feudal labour, as well as the tithes, to the landlord and the clergy, to be abolished; in virtue, however, of a compensation to be afterwards determined, especially to the poorer clergy. 10th, The university henceforth to be under the jurisdiction of the minister of instruction, and public teaching to be gratuitously afforded to all classes of religionists. 11th, All persons from the age of twenty to fifty possessing a certain amount of property, to serve in the National Guard, whose establishment had been decreed. 12th, Judges to be the only crown officials not removable.—To these laws need only be added the provisions made to ensure the liberty of the press, and the power lodged with the

ministry to raise a million sterling for the construction of means of communication, to have a clear idea of the spirit of these new enactments.¹ The passing of these laws without much opposition was undoubtedly a signal victory for the Hungarian liberals; nor would it have been so easily gained without the interposition of that invisible Power which in great moments inspires those who are engaged in the work of civilization with all-powerful zeal—that invincible warrior, “who” (to speak in the language of Milton), “shaking loosely the slack reins, drives over the heads of scarlet prelates and such as are insolent to maintain traditions, bruising their stiff necks under his flaming wheels.”

After these laws received the royal sanction, the Diet was closed by the king in person, April 11th. The ministers thereupon repaired to the capital to commence their functions, in hopes of ruling a population which had been emancipated from their feudal burdens, without any distinction of race, while the loss entailed by that reform lay almost solely on the Magyar element as constituting the bulk of the landed proprietors. As to the future, the whole population, as may be seen, received positive guarantees of further liberty by the new electoral laws; according to which, legislation, hitherto the right of one class, became the common privilege of all classes and races, including

¹ See Blackwell's Reports on Hungary, in *State Papers*, 1851, vol. viii. p. 65. To the detriment of the Hungarian cause, and the mystification of the British Foreign Office, this envoy (who, with the exception of a very few secondary points, gave the correctest information) was recalled from Hungary, to be superseded in this task by the British ambassador at Vienna, Lord Ponsonby. We will occasionally refer to the reports of this diplomatist, and leave the reader to judge of them.

even the military borderers, who had hitherto sighed under a petty and intolerable despotism.

The joy diffused through the whole country at the report of the new state of affairs can scarcely be described; nor should it be supposed that the people of Hungary, although hitherto patient under the oppression, had been dead to its injustice. The peasant of Hungary, and especially the Magyar, too well felt the state of degradation in which he stood to his master. But though the peasant looked with a sentiment of disdain, not perhaps unmingled with hatred, on the noble who, as it pleased his humour, would now call him to share in a brotherly bowl, and then not scruple to exercise upon him his judicial rigour either for some real or imaginary offence, he, on the other hand, besides resigning himself to a feeling of fatalism, so common among Oriental tribes, was more filled by his orphan-like feelings arising from the consciousness of the isolated position of his own race in the midst of Europe, and thus led to exult and pride himself in the very contemplation of the wealth and uncontrolled power of the very nobles by whom he saw his race represented. To this state of mind in the Hungarian peasant must be attributed the absence of bloody scenes in Hungary, similar to those which the Austrian government so cruelly encouraged against the nobles of Galicia.

In short, by these new radical reforms, Hungary and Transylvania, with a population of more than 14,000,000, comprehending a territory equal to the whole of the provinces that compose the rest of the Austrian empire, seemed

“Changed like the world’s great scene, when without noise
The rising sun night’s vulgar light destroys.”

This godly work, however, was soon to be marred by the incorrigible morals of a dynasty which did not shrink from availing itself of the direst of means,—the mutual murder of its own subjects. The land of promise was soon to be enveloped in flames and reeking blood, commenced by a savage warfare of race against race, such as Hungary has not witnessed since the very time of its conquest, to be carried on undisguisedly to its utmost limits by the dynasty itself.

No sooner had the ministers arrived at the capital, Buda-Pesth, than intelligence came of a state of fermentation in Croatia and among the Slavonians of the South of Hungary, which daily assumed a more decided appearance. The Croats assembled at Agram, openly professed their disobedience to the orders of the Hungarian ministry, and soon presented a petition to the emperor, demanding chiefly, 1st, An independent Croatian ministry and Diet; 2^d, The union of Croatia, the three Slavonian Counties, and Dalmatia; 3^d, That Jellachich (then colonel) be nominated commander of all the frontier troops, and empowered to convene an assembly. The other points had reference to those liberties which had been ensured by the acts of the last Diet of Presburg. Of a similar nature was the movement manifesting itself among the Southern Slavonians, called Raitzen Rascians, or Serbs. These Raitzen, as has already been related, settled in Hungary about the end of the seventeenth century, when they fled before the despotism of the Turks; and inhabit the most fertile parts of Hungary, known by the name of Banat and the Bacs country, on the Lower Danube. The bulk of the Raitzen profess adherence to the Greek Church, are fiercer and more warlike than the Croats, and as regards mental culture

far below the level of the North-western Slavonians of Hungary. The chief demand made by the Raitzen was, that the counties they inhabited be erected into a separate province, under the name of Vaivodship. The Croats contented themselves at first with merely verbal demonstrations of hostility, while the Raitzen met in an assembly at Carlowitz, and soon determined to take up arms. Encouraged and led on by their patriarch Rajaacs, they soon formed into different armed bodies, commencing their acts of violence with a fury which was fanned to its extreme limits by fanatic appeals, and which soon spread desolation throughout the neighbouring counties. Isolated acts of plunder and slaughter soon assumed the character of an obdurate and extensive warfare; and as many of the Raitzen were military borderers, and therefore used to arms, their incursions against their unprovided neighbours, Magyar as well as German, could not at first be met by any serious resistance. Not to pass over entirely in silence the atrocities of that fanatic and infuriated populace—atrocities which, but for the undecided and mild policy of the ministry, might have been at first successfully met and severely punished—it will be sufficient to mention that the Raitzen appeared to exult in the very martyr cry of the wretched victims who fell alive into their hands,—that they often took care to prolong suffering by a process of gradual torture,—that many a captive was kept starving for days in a shed or sty, to see it at last fired over his head, thus to perish amid the double pain of the gnawing hunger and burning; and, finally, to outrage all laws of humanity, these followers of the Greek patriarch nailed many an unfortunate to a cross, and left him there to end his agonies. Nay, it happened many a time that bodies

were covered with earth before life was yet extinct. The abundance in arms and ammunition which the Raitzen exhibited, as also their well-concerted irruptions into the neighbouring districts, left no doubt as to their being efficiently assisted from abroad; nor was it long before Austrian officers were perceived among their lines. Assisted thus by the court of Vienna, the Raitzen soon numbered several thousand well organized troops, and were easily enabled to erect, with the help of Austrian engineers, several strongholds and entrenchments, such as Perlas, Földvar, and especially St Thomas, the strongest of all, situated near the Francis canal. Besides these newly-constructed fortifications, the Raitzen found ready strongholds in what are called the Roman entrenchments. These fortifications are said to have originally been the work of the Romans; and extending as they do for several miles, they afforded a ready and safe place to the Raitzen whence to direct their inroads and whither to fall back when repelled. Everything which belonged to either a German or Magyar was destroyed by fire and sword, and scarcely two months had passed over when these most fertile districts presented nothing but smouldering ruins and blood. With the Hungarian regiments abroad, without resources at hand for meeting the danger, the Hungarian ministry applied for assistance to Vienna, when orders were issued to several regiments, mostly foreign, quartered in Hungary, to march against the rebellious Raitzen, and to obey henceforth the orders of the Hungarian ministry. These few regiments, though they at first encountered the Raitzen with apparent earnestness, proved a very weak check, especially as secret orders had been sent to their commanders in contravention of the open

instructions. The perplexity produced by such a state of things is too apparent to require any comment. The Hungarian regiments, as may be remembered, were fighting at that time for the Austrian dynasty in Italy. The Batthyany ministry, hopeful of a speedy pacification in the South of Hungary, abstained from following a more determined line of conduct, and declined the offer of the people of Szegedin "to go upon the Raitzen," as they termed it, while the Viennese government adopted quite a contrary course. In several of the Turkish provinces levies were organized to furnish reinforcements to the Raitzen, and recruitings were regularly carried on in Servia by the Austrian consul Mayerhofer, a flagrant fact which European diplomacy affected entirely to ignore. The Czar, however, as will be seen, did not ignore the presence of a few thousand Polish volunteers in Hungary, whose number he multiplied at his free pleasure. Warlike by nature, and incited by fanatic appeals, the Servians poured in thousands into the Banat, to assist their brethren of kindred faith against the heretic Magyars. The war thus daily assumed a more threatening aspect, while Jellachich, recently nominated Ban, continued his preparations for the open object of invading Hungary. But though the conduct of the Ban and his proclamations soon showed that he had something else in view than to give to Croatia a free and independent ministry, it would be unwarrantable to assume that there were not many engaged in this war with the sincere desire of serving their peculiar national interest. It was, however, more painful afterwards to see that this bloody civil war was nothing but a ghastly service performed for a dynasty, in aid of the establishment of general slavery. No one, in fact, could have surmised

that the Slavonic movement in the South of Hungary, from which the North-western Slavonians of Hungary remained exempt, and which was fanned by the so-called Pan-Slavonic party then assembled at Prague, could have served so implicitly the designs of the House of Austria. It was indeed a startling sight to see that while the true champions of Polish liberty, such as Bem and Dembinzky, came into Hungary to fight against the common enemy with the so-called tyrant Magyars, Jellachich, the pretended champion of Croatian liberty, as well as the Pan-Sclavists, whose avowed efforts were to unite the different parts of the Slavonic element and thereby to raise it, thus co-operated with the arms of a power which keeps united under slavery and the knout a Slavonic population, surpassing by many millions the greatest civilized nation.

In addition to these troubles and difficulties, Transylvania foreboded similar scenes, and the Batthyany ministry still continued to look to the throne for aid, and occasionally to make application for help to the Austrian government in full hope. Repudiating its connection with all these troubles, Austria then professed the only point at issue between herself and Hungary to be the refusal of the latter to take upon itself a share of the Austrian national debt. The reasons of this refusal were very plain, inasmuch as Hungary neither received any benefit from the Austrian public loans, nor was it in any way a party to the contraction of the debt. It would, however, be doing gross injustice to the common sense of the Hungarian ministry to suppose them doubtful of a secret connection between the court of Vienna and the state of matters in the south; and their mo-

deration, their strict observance of the so-called legal path, though stigmatised by public opinion as pusillanimous, may be accounted for by the same motives which made it imperative on the court not openly to avow what the armaments of the Ban, and the other troubles in which Hungary was embroiled, were really meant for. The violent shock the dynasty received from the revolution just accomplished at Vienna, and which was followed by solemn imperial promises of the grant of a free charter; the reverses Radetzky sustained at the hand of the Milanese, backed by the King of Sardinia; the rise of the liberal party in Germany, as well as the presence of a republic in France, of which Lamartine, then its head, said that it was not only the representative of the democratic principle of Europe, but also "*its soldier*,"—were so many reasons for the Hapsburgs to delay an open rupture with Hungary, and to appease the different races with flattering promises. Similar circumstances made it likewise imperative on the Batthyany ministry patiently to suffer double-dealing, and be satisfied with idle imperial proclamations against the *rebels* and *violators of law*. The few regiments placed at the disposal of the Hungarian government, were, as was before stated, chiefly foreigners; the scarcity of arms could not hold out much hope of a speedy organisation of volunteers, a scheme afterwards successfully adopted; and it might thus reasonably have been feared that a more decided and unequivocal remonstrance on the part of the Hungarian government would at once determine the court to throw off the mask, and order these regiments to act openly against that government. Besides these, there were other reasons for abstaining from an open rupture, viz., the current belief that the dynasty

was divided into factions; one, the chief personage in which was said to be the Arch-duchess Sophia, insisting on the re-establishment of the old absolutism; the other wishing for the establishment of constitutional liberty; and thus it happened that all the machinations were in Hungary attributed solely to what was called the *Camarilla*. But what served more to sustain Hungarian loyalty was the following royal proclamation, dated Innspruck, June 10, 1848:—"Croatians and Slavonians!—In you we have been mistaken; you who, united to the crown of Hungary for eight centuries, shared the fortunes of this country; you who owe to this union the constitutional freedom which you alone among all the Slavonic nations have maintained through centuries; you who have ever shared in all the rights and liberties of the Hungarian constitution, and were, besides, endowed with peculiar privileges and liberties by the grace of our illustrious ancestors; we were mistaken in you, to whom the last Diet of the kingdom of Hungary and its dependencies, according to our royal will, granted full part in all the benefits of constitutional liberty and equality of rights. The legislation of the crown of Hungary has abolished feudal servitude, and those among you who were subjected to the Soccage have, without any sacrifice on their part, been converted into free proprietors. The landed proprietors receive for their loss occasioned by the abolition of Soccage, an indemnification which you with your own means would be unable to provide. This indemnification, granted to your landed proprietors, will be entailed without any charge to yourselves, on our Hungarian crown estates. The right also of constitutional representation was extended to the people: with you no less than in Hungary,

the military frontier also shares in the legislation common to all. Your national and municipal rights, relative to which evil and malicious reports have been spread, are by no means threatened, but, on the contrary, enlarged and secured; and the use of your native language is lawfully guaranteed to you, not only in your schools and churches, but also in the public assemblies, as introduced instead of the Latin.

“Calumniators sought to make you believe that the Hungarian nation desired to suppress your language, or at least to prevent its farther development. We ourselves assure you that these reports are false. For eight centuries have you been united to Hungary, during which long time the legislature has ever maintained a due regard to your nationality. How could you, therefore, believe that it should be now hostile to it? Formerly in Hungary and its dependencies, we administered the executive power by our Hungarian Chancery and Home-office, to which the Bans of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia, rendered obedience, as they were bound in more remote times to obey the orders of our Hungarian authorities issued under different forms. In the last Hungarian Diet, in consequence of the request made to us by our faithful States, we, guided by our own free will, sanctioned the laws in the last Diet, according to which, our beloved cousin the Archduke Stephen, palatine of Hungary, was declared our royal lieutenant, thus to administer the executive power through our Hungarian ministry which we simultaneously appointed. In spite of this, Baron Jellachich, whom we appointed Ban of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia, is accused of having the temerity to refuse this due obedience, disregarding our paternal exhortations which we have addressed to him.”

This document next goes on to detail the acts of disobedience, referring besides to the personal affront offered in Croatia to the palatine, whose portrait was publicly burned in the presence of the Ban, after which the King-Emperor thus continues—"No other means were left to relieve our royal authority, and to uphold our laws, than to send our faithful privy councillor Field-Marshal Hrabosky to investigate those unlawful proceedings, and to deprive Baron Jellachich, until his perfect clearance from all these charges, of all his dignities as Ban, and of all his military offices. I sternly exhort you to renounce all participation in seditions which aim at a separation from our Hungarian crown. Listen to the voice of your king, addressing you as his faithful Croatians and Slavonians."¹ To those who looked more deeply than the mere surface of affairs, the total inefficacy of this proclamation, and the peremptory refusal of the Ban to obey the orders of the commissioner mentioned, were no matters of surprise; though no one expected that within a few weeks another royal proclamation should be issued (as was really done), praising the Ban for his fidelity. In the meantime, the ministry began to be more alive to the common danger, and soon resolved to raise a few volunteer battalions, till some more decided means should be taken by the Diet about to assemble at Pesth; and no sooner was the ministerial appeal issued than the youth of the country, for the most part students, thronged to the national

¹ This, as well as several other important documents, will be found in the Appendices to the following interesting books:—*The War in Hungary, 1848-1849*, by Max. Schlesinger; *The Memoirs of a Hungarian Lady*, by Madame Pulszky; and *The Memoirs of General Klapka*.

standard. The example of patriotism was in many instances set by the professors themselves, among whom was Tavasy, one of the most popular professors of the Protestant College of Pesth, who exchanged his chair for the camp. A few days thus sufficed to organize ten battalions, called *Honved* ("defenders of home"), which were destined to form the pith of the large national army subsequently raised. The war on the Lower Danube was all the while raging with redoubled fury, and the treacherous conduct of the Austrian officers placed under the command of the Hungarian government, and especially that of General Bechtold, commander-in-chief, became daily more apparent. Nor was this evil remedied by the addition of the new national forces, as long as the chief command remained in the hands of such men. Far from really attempting to expel the Raitzen from their positions, Bechtold rather seemed so to direct his manoeuvres as to enable them undisturbedly to strengthen themselves in their fortifications. Intending to assault the strongholds of these armed masses, this general would many a time array his battalions within the range of the enemy's artillery posted upon the ramparts, thus exposing his men to a useless and dreadful massacre. In the midst of a bold and effective attack on the entrenchments he would sound a sudden retreat, while his artillery, consisting of Austrians, and fully aware of their comrades' presence in the opposite camp, but feignedly supported the charges of the foot and horse. Thus did two armies continue to kill each other for months, at the gracious commands of Hapsburg clemency—a clemency which beforehand carried into practice the principle of equalization of all the nationalities as proclaimed soon afterwards by Francis-Joseph. The ru-

mours of this frightful state of affairs in the camp of the South did not fail soon to reach the capital, and to excite feelings of the deepest indignation and revenge; in the midst of which, royal orders were issued for the convocation of the Diet, with the apparent view of providing for the safety of the country. With the exception of Croatia and the Southern districts in revolt, members were returned to this assembly from all parts of the country, including Transylvania; and this assembly, which may well be called the Long Parliament of Hungary, was opened by the palatine, the Archduke Stephen, as vice-regent of Hungary, July 5, 1848. The speech from the throne delivered by the archduke was in substance as follows:—"In the name and as representative of King Ferdinand V., I hereby open the present Diet: the unusual circumstances required its being convoked without delay. In Croatia open rebellion exists; in the provinces of the Lower Danube, armed bodies of rioters have violated the peace of the country. His majesty, anxious to avoid a civil war, is convinced that the assembled representatives of the nation will consider it as a most important object of their solicitude, to adopt every measure calculated to restore the interrupted peace; to maintain the integrity of the holy Hungarian crown, and to secure the inviolate sanctity of the laws. The responsible ministers will announce measures adapted to these circumstances, and his majesty confidently hopes that the representatives of the nation will introduce speedy and suitable propositions with relation to the safety and welfare of the country. With feelings of pain and the deepest displeasure has his majesty learned that evil-minded inciters to sedition have been found particularly in Croatia and in the

provinces of the Lower Danube, *to excite the inhabitants of those countries against one another who differ in language and religion, by means of false reports and alarming tales, impelling them, by slanderously asserting that the laws of the last Diet were not the free expression of his majesty's will, violently to oppose the dominion of laws and of regular authority*; and that some have carried their sedition to such an extent as to assert that their opposition is intended to promote the interests of the exalted royal house, and is exerted with the knowledge and approbation of his majesty. To quiet the minds, therefore, of all the inhabitants of this country and of every language and religion, I, as the representative of his majesty, hereby declare that his majesty is determined to protect the integrity of the Hungarian throne against every attack from abroad and attempt at division at home; and that his majesty himself, as well as all the members of his royal house, condemn in the strongest manner the daring hardihood of those individuals who venture to assert that any unlawful action whatever, or any disobedience to lawful authority, is compatible with the most high will of his majesty, or has happened for the advantage of his royal house." After referring to the war in Lombard-Venetia, carried on with the help of the king of Sardinia and other Italian powers, which, as was further intimated, had not yet been brought to a termination, the palatine concluded as follows:—"His majesty entertains no doubt that the Diet, having in view the inseparable united interests of the royal throne and constitutional freedom, will without delay adopt every regulation which the welfare of the country so urgently demands."—Considering the circumstances in which these distinct and forcible expressions of an-

xiety were made, they could not fail to produce, with some faint gleams of hope, general feelings of bewilderment; as neither did the Raitzen slacken their bloody career, nor Jellachich betray any tokens of abandoning his warlike preparations. The measures of the ministry, however, derived additional importance from the presence of the Diet, which served to allay in some measure the anxiety of the people, newly excited by the troubles increasing in Transylvania.¹ In order the more clearly to comprehend the nature of these troubles, a few prefatory remarks are necessary. Transylvania, as already stated, is inhabited by three races: the Magyars, a part of whom, constituting the military borderers along the Danubian province, are

¹ Transylvania forms one sixth of the Hungarian kingdom, both in regard to territory and population. From the mother country it is separated by an arm of the Carpathians, while a chain of snow-clad mountains divides it from Moldavia and Wallachia. Its mountainous nature not allowing the expanse of wide plains, the level land of this principality is here and there intercepted by chains of undulating vine-clad hills, being upon the whole more fertile than that of Hungary, which is in many parts covered over with quicksands. Nor is it poorer than the latter in those mineral springs, which are as wholesome for the sick as they are palatable and refreshing for the healthy. One of its chief advantages over Hungary, however, may be said to consist in its comparatively good roads, the chief of which leads through a successive line of orchards, intercepted by streamlets, from Klausenburg to Kronstadt, near the Wallachian frontiers. This latter town and Hermanstadt, both of which are inhabited chiefly by the Saxons, form the centre of the Transylvanian manufacturing industry. In Transylvania, it must be here said, both the Magyar nobles and Saxons clung more pertinaciously to their exclusive privileges than was the case in Hungary Proper, by whose advancing spirit it was involuntarily carried forwards.

known by the name of Sekler; the Germans, called Saxons; and the Wallachians, called Dacians or Roumins. Up to the year 1848, the Wallachians, by far the most numerous, were excluded from any participation in legislature and administration, as those among them who attained any degree of importance became in course of time Magyarized, while the majority consisted almost exclusively of serfs. The acts passed by the last Diet, as has been seen, remedied this crying evil, by including without any distinction the whole population. The Wallachians, however, were soon taught not to trust in these good measures and the security of their emancipation, and were studiously instigated to lift up their battle-axe against their late masters, whose property they expected to divide among themselves. The Saxons, also, who hoped to receive additional privileges for themselves, were ready to aid the court by inciting the former, and by making common cause with the Austrian commander. As in the Banat, the murder of the Magyars became also in this principality the chief aim of the infuriated masses, who were all at once seen to be provided with arms and ammunition. General Puchner, the Austrian commander-in-chief in Transylvania, though ordered by the ministry, refused to march and chastise these ravagers, under the plea of various idle pretexts; afterwards openly renouncing his obedience to the Hungarian government, and undisguisedly co-operating with the Wallachians, who, like the Raitzen, in the midst of their murders professed to be doing the will of His Majesty. The mountains of Transylvania soon became as bloody as the Southern plains of Hungary; and the Wallachians, this otherwise fine race, and of much promise if cultivated, having been in process of

time entirely neglected, and become extremely indolent and cowardly, had suddenly let loose their passions, to commit atrocities as foul as those perpetrated by the Raitzen. This people, belonging chiefly to the Greek Church, had, besides, the misfortune of being incited by a priesthood which literally was ignorant of the use of the pen. And strange to say, by an almost inexplicable anomaly, the Transylvanian Wallachians were in some measure inflamed to these acts of violence from the liberal movement which had just been accomplished by their brethren in Wallachia, and immediately put down by the arms of the Czar.

True, a few distinguished members of the liberal party of Buchares, who found refuge against Russian vengeance in Transylvania, saw the mad fatality of their Transylvanian brethren, and did everything to point out to these infatuated people that their frantic conduct only served to increase the power of their most inveterate foes, and to rivet their own chains more closely about their necks.¹ These admonitions, however, came too late to be of much avail.

As the increase of danger rendered it daily more imperative to look for more efficient means of defence, the ministry resolved to levy a large force of 200,000 men, a resolution which was announced to the House, July 11th, by the minister of finance, Louis Kossuth. Having exposed in a lengthened and eloquent speech the real state of affairs, this minister intimated, that

¹ Here I allude in particular, from personal experience and acquaintance, to M. Bolliac, member of the late Provincial Government of Bucharest, and some of his friends, who found an asylum in Transylvania, and who published a newspaper in the Wallach language, to enlighten the minds of this kindred people as to the true state of affairs.

the annual expense required for the maintenance of such a force would amount to upwards of four millions sterling, and suggested at the same time the idea of issuing paper money on the public property of Hungary, which, along with voluntary contributions, would supply the necessary sums till the final budget be submitted to the house. It is almost needless to say that this motion was carried amid astounding acclamations, repeatedly interrupting the speaker, who, in conclusion, said, "If as much energy will manifest itself in the execution as there is patriotism in the offer, then Hungary will remain unconquered, even if hell itself should rise against her!" As was expected, voluntary offerings flowed in from all parts of the kingdom; there was scarcely a family of any wealth which did not offer its plate and jewellery for the service of the country; and such was the confidence in the policy of the government that no sooner was the Hungarian paper money issued than people bestirred themselves to get rid of the Austrian bank-notes. All this patriotism, however encouraging, was still in part unavailing; for the country being hermetically sealed without a single neighbour through whose territories arms might have been imported, the preparations of defence were necessarily incomplete and tardy. A few days after the resolution of the levy of a national force was carried, followed the debate on the address, the most perplexing point to ministers being the passage in the royal speech referring to the Italian war. At his nomination as prime minister, Count Batthyany, though repeatedly solicited by the Austrian government, declined to pledge himself, on the part of Hungary, to accept a part of the Austrian state-debt, as well as to give a promise that Hungary would assist Austria in the Italian provinces.

As matters now stood, the Austrian cabinet all the while repudiating the idea of its complicity with the internal troubles of Hungary, on the other hand gave it to be understood, that if Hungary would assist Austria to put an end to the war in Italy the Austrian government would assist in putting a stop to the Hungarian civil war. In this dilemma, led on the one hand by a feeling of self-preservation, and actuated on the other by the impression that the Italians were fighting in a just cause, the Batthyany ministry determined to insert in the address a passage to the following effect, viz:—"That Hungary would do its best to bring about a compromise in Lombard-Venetia, which, while compatible with the dignity of Austria, should at the same time ensure liberty to the Italians, on condition that Austria would restore peace in Hungary." The mere idea of promising any further aid to Austria against the Italians was, as may be understood, sufficient to rouse public opinion against the ministry, and it accordingly called forth violent censure from the benches of the opposition, and, in particular, from the member for Buda, M. Perczel, afterwards distinguished as a general. Even Kossuth's version of this piece of policy could not appease the minds of the opposition, and rather served to diminish for a while the popularity of the finance minister.

On this occasion Kossuth followed a line of conduct as original as impolitic, by expressing his opinion both as a minister and a citizen. In the former capacity he explained the reasons why ministers found it necessary to promise aid to Austria, while speaking as a private citizen, he expressed his joy at the victories of the Italians. In short, the whole speech was an act of great indiscretion, serving no purpose whatever.

While such a discussion contributed to let the Austrian cabinet better know the sentiments of the people in Hungary, the attention of the Diet was soon turned to the consideration of more tangible objects, viz., the state of the war on the Lower Danube. Almost every day brought fresh intelligence from the camp that Bechtold purposely abstained from defeating and expelling the Raitzen from their different strongholds, and that the bravery of the Honveds, sent to re-inforce the troops in the south, served only to expose them to destruction, through the treachery of their leaders. Several members, putting aside every feeling of false decorum, made interpellations in unmistakable language, pointing in particular to the assault upon St Thomas, which had been just conducted in such a manner as no longer to leave any doubt of the real designs of the commander-in-chief. Perczel, the member for Buda, loudly attested that even a corporal, if in earnest, would have taken that stronghold with such a force, and expressed his conviction that treason held rule in the camp. Such, however, was the forbearance of ministers, that these denunciations were firmly repudiated, and those who put them forth severely rebuked. That the ministry did not entertain any suspicion about the conduct of the Austrian leaders is scarcely imaginable; and it would, in fact, be difficult to determine whether this all-sparing policy of the Hungarian ministry, or the moral depravity of the Austrian Cabinet, was the more startling in this instance. For it is worth remarking, that at that time when Southern Hungary was at the mercy of savage depredations and slaughter, Transylvania, already a prey to a similar civil war, and Jellachich, in addition, preparing for the invasion of Hun-

gary, the Austrian government dared reproach the Hungarian ministry for withholding supplies from the Ban. Truly, the mere contemplation of such a state of affairs is enough to strike the heart of man with horror and dismay, and what must have been the state of a people who actually felt the whole weight and dreariness of such a condition !

Driven by the force of events, several ways were tried to purge the army from its treacherous officers, while Bechtold and several others afterwards voluntarily resigned their commands. Then the Hungarian troops began to march from victory to victory, under Vetter and Coloman, and soon displayed acts of signal bravery under Damyanics, under whose hand the 9th and 3d Honved battalions, almost entirely composed of students, rapidly inured to the hardships of war, became the terror of the Raitzen and Servians. As a mark of distinction, these two battalions received *red caps*, from which subsequently they received their name.

The Diet, in the meantime, began, though somewhat too late, to turn its attention to what is termed Foreign Politics. On the motion of M. Gorove, the House declared its sympathy with Germany, and expressed its readiness to enter into alliance with that country. Germany, it must be remembered, then represented by its assembly at Frankfort, appeared to labour under the throes of a German union, a circumstance closely affecting Austria, inasmuch as the hereditary provinces form a part of the German confederacy. The following remarks made by the finance minister on this occasion will serve to illustrate in some measure the internal condition of Austria. "Gentlemen," said Kossuth, "in Vienna four elements are now at work contending with each other, first, that

part of the Austrian population which from a sober conception of its own interests, of those of the dynasty, as well as for the sake of freedom, wishes for the union with Germany. The second is the reaction, the third the Austrian ministry, and the fourth the Slave element. As to the Austrian ministry, led to behave towards us hitherto in a most unfriendly and unjust manner, I cannot accuse it of aiming to undermine Hungarian independence and freedom, and to restore absolutism. What I believe is, that that government is so much engrossed with the desire of taking from our hands the portfolios of finance and war, that thereby it involuntarily serves as a tool to the re-action. The re-action, the Slave element, and the ministry, I say, work into each others hands, though with different intentions. The first is anxious to restore absolute power; the second desires to establish a Slave-Austrian monarchy; while the ministry is bent upon getting into its hands the Hungarian financial and military resources. All these three agencies, however, endeavour to inspire with aversion towards Hungary those Austrians, who, in the first moment of their new liberties, had exhibited sympathy towards us by pointing them to what they term the separation of Hungary. But I would fain ask what will happen if, by the curse of Heaven, the Austrian government should succeed in snatching from us the administration of the financial and military departments, and perhaps, also, the commercial? Is it that Austria will become thereby constitutionally free? No! in such a case what will happen is this, that with uncontrolled power over the finances and the troops, the Austrian government will keep down Bohemia and Gallicia with Hungarian armies, garrison Austria with Bohemian and Gallician

soldiers, send to Hungary Austrians and Croats, and the result will be common slavery. Let therefore every free minded man remember that the restoration of the old state of things will only prove the tomb of Austrian constitutionalism. Austria can only then expect to be constitutional when Hungary is allowed to preserve and develop her independence,—only then when it remains in the enjoyment of all those rights which it does not owe to the clemency of our king Ferdinand V., but to treaties of three hundred years standing.” The speaker then went on to explain how the re-action excited the German-Austrians, by pointing to the circumstance that Hungary, unwilling to accept part of the national debt, was besides about to regulate its commercial affairs according to its own liking, and how turning to the Slaves the re-action incited that element against the so-called tyranny of the Magyars, holding out to them flattering and empty promises. In conclusion, Kossuth proved the necessity for Austria, if really desirous of freedom, to be closely united to Germany, a country containing in itself the guarantees of civilization and liberty; finally observing that the workings of the Slave party opposed to such a union would only lead to the annihilation of every vestige of liberty, and to the sole aggrandizement of another great power. The declaration of the union with Germany, this first piece of diplomacy of the Hungarian executive and legislature, passed off with great applause and satisfaction, especially after having been realized by the despatch of two envoys to the central government of Germany, envoys to whom credentials were given by the palatine with the consent of the Austrian government, and who were duly received at Frankfort. That this mission

proved altogether abortive, it is almost needless to narrate, when it is remembered that the head of this new Germany was a member of the royal family, John Archduke of Austria. Of more importance and more promise was the mission to the French Republic, a mission intrusted to Count Ladislaus Teleki. A better choice could scarcely have been made than that of this nobleman, who stands as a noble instance of civic virtue and liberality of principle among the Hungarian magnates. The presence of Teleki in Hungary might however have proved of more importance than his diplomatic post in Paris. The mission to the English government, which was of a later date, devolved on Francis Pulszky, a gentleman no less known among the liberals of Hungary, and possessed of more talent than was required to defend the cause he represented. That the Hungarian government should have altogether lost sight of Constantinople, a quarter obviously the most important from various considerations, entirely irrespective of any traditional recollections, was in fact a grievous fault, and scarcely to be excused on the plea of inexperience in diplomatical business. Nor is it superfluous shortly to intimate that an early application to the United States, a country which entirely shook off in its inter-national policy the usage of idle etiquette, might have in the end proved productive of salutary results, in spite of the indifference observed by the western powers of Europe, even after the Hungarian question had assumed a European character.

The defensive preparations, in the meantime, advanced a step farther, a circumstance owing chiefly to the establishment of a large gun factory at Pesth. Yet this establishment, placed under the surveillance of an Englishman, and carried on by many English

mechanics, could do but little in the way of fabricating new guns, for want of the requisite instruments for such manufacture, the importation of which from abroad was rendered impossible. It nevertheless did much in the repair of several sort of arms offered by the people, so as to make them fit for field service.

The next thing of importance done in these doubtful moments was the commencement of the organization of raw levies, or, as they were called, *National Guards*. This task was confided to the following four Hungarians, late subaltern officers in the Austrian army, and now nominated majors,—Ivanka, Görgei, Kostolany, and Mariasy.

Görgei, it may here cursorily be observed, formerly served as a lieutenant in the regiment of the Palatin-Hussars, after quitting which he repaired to Prague to study chemistry, and soon after returned to Hungary. To Transylvania was sent Colonel Gal, who was the first among the late Austrian officers in embracing the national cause, and who, invested with full power, carried on the organization of the Szekler. The court of Vienna, however, began to show more undisguisedly its true designs, as was exemplified in the king's refusal to sanction the laws passed in reference to the levy of national troops. In this emergency, new appeals were made to the throne, two of the ministers, Batthyany and Deak, repairing to Vienna and again requesting his majesty to admonish the military commanders of their duty, and trying to persuade him to repair to Pesth, and thereby lend some moral support to the regulations of the ministers by his own presence in Hungary. These efforts, however, failed, in spite of a large deputation, consisting of the members of the Diet, sent to support the request of ministers. The

poor weak-minded Ferdinand contented himself with giving inarticulate answers, and the two ministers and the deputation returned to Pesth, only to find that Jellachich had already crossed the Drave, which divides Hungary from Croatia. Of the two chief officers who commanded the Hungarian troops, the one, named Ottinger, went straight over to the enemy's camp, while the other, Adam Teleky, contented himself with simply allowing the Ban to advance, without offering any resistance whatever. Such a state of things, accompanied as it was by most overbearing declamations on the part of the Ban, in addition to the savage war on the Lower Danube and Transylvania, was justly calculated to exasperate the minds of the most patient and most loyal subjects of the Hapsburg dynasty. Such a long line of double-dealing and iniquities served, so to speak, to spread a veil of deep gloom over the people; the educated classes scarcely able to recover from their surprise at such a policy proceeding from a throne, while the peasantry, oppressed by a feeling of utter bewilderment and despondency, began to think *that the Isten of the Magyars had ceased to look down upon them*. In spite of all this, a rock of hope presented itself in the good will and strong arms of this very desponding people. The short interval during which Hungary enjoyed a free press, the peasants, sober-minded by nature, had opportunity to become fully acquainted with the tenor of the new laws, and all that was passing before their eyes, and thus underwent in a few weeks a complete mental training. The accomplishment of this task was chiefly owing to a journal entitled *Nep-Barat* (the People's Friend), conducted by Vas Gereben, than whom no one understood better to speak in the people's

language. This paper was called into life and maintained at the expense of the ministry, with the view of expounding to the rustics the true meaning of the words, *constitution*, *liberty*, and *equality*, in order to prevent any scenes of anarchy. Thus it happened that thousands on thousands who had hardly ever thought of what is called a newspaper, crowded in their respective villages round the *notary* or some other authority, to hear from his mouth the news of the daily *press*. A very strange being, indeed, the Magyar peasant is as mysterious as is his country's history—his sympathy with gloom and melancholy reveries, fond of brooding in a seeming lethargy on bygone days, at the moment when his heart is ready to kindle with all the fire of a Crusader. When free from his daily labour, and amid his happy moments, everything with this rustic seems marked with sudden transitions from one state of mind into another entirely opposite. Apparently in the midst of full bliss, he is seen to sink into sorrow—soon to burst forth with exultation—again to plunge into deep grief, which constitutes the beginning and the end of his frolickings. Rarely, or perhaps never, is the Magyar seen to cheer up through the incitements usual with other people. The Gipsy, this rough diamond of the human species, this inarticulate but most expressive interpreter of the Magyar's weal and woe—has first to strike the chords to a most plaintive tune if he wishes to kindle into enthusiasm his Magyar auditor. In short, whether he is sorrowing or rejoicing, he does so not only for himself, but for his brethren and his land. Revering their spiritual pastors, these peasants are free from what is called superstition, and bold enough to offer their prayers to Heaven for themselves, without the intercession of the priest as an indispensable me-

dium. On Sunday afternoons, indeed, the peasant is often to be met either walking along his field or in the company of his friends around or in the tavern, making up the quarrels and jealousies of the week, and pledging new friendships amid the flowing of the wine cups. But, endowed as he is with intense religious feelings, when in the house of God, his lips open to prayer with the freshness with which the leaves of the tree expand to the descending dew of heaven. Such is the character of the people with whom chiefly rested the defence of Hungary.

The people of the capital, shocked at the very idea of seeing Pesth captured by the Croats, loudly urged the government to provide speedy means of defence, offering their services wherever they should be required. Thus encouraged and propelled by public opinion, Kossuth determined to proceed to the country, to call the people to arms. The voice of self-defence as exhibited in the different appeals then made public in the journals, and tinged as they were with the hue of something like prophetic vision, which now would seem to many rather extraordinary and inconceivable, were nothing more than the true reflex of the sentiments of a people which, amid the maze of troubles gradually succeeding each other, stood aghast, scarcely daring to think of what was lurking behind that dark and deep laid scheme, a part of which it saw already exhibited before its eyes. The following appeal of Kossuth, which entered like a living flame into the heart of the people, well deserves to be here inserted; nor were such appeals the offspring of premeditation and a studied purpose to produce effect. "When," says the stern blind Republican of England, "God commands to take the trumpet and blow a dolorous or

jarring blast, it lies not in man's will what he shall say or what he shall conceal. If he shall think to be silent, as Jeremiah did, he would be forced to confess, as he confessed, 'his word was in my heart as a burning fire, shut up in my bones, I was weary with forbearing and could not stay.'"

"As a prophet," thus Kossuth began, "do I now speak to you, ye poor patriots, betrayed Hungarians. Since seven years I have often prophesied to you, and I myself shudder to see how every thing has been so terribly fulfilled; yea, almost every word I said has come to pass, even the sorrowful malady of a man,¹ whose name is connected with so much merit, and whose mental illness fills the heart of men with deep grief. All has come to pass that I said about the monarchy, the aristocracy, and the Croats, and now begins the fulfilment of what I foretold of the dynasty.

"I shudder from myself—it is as if the book of destiny lay open before my eyes, which I vainly try to shut; the light crosses through my soul like the lighting through darkness. Again I yield to the yearning of my heart, and again I will prophesy to you. Harken to me, patriots! remember that God does not manifest himself in single wonders, but in general laws. It is an eternal law of God that who forsakes himself him does He forsake. It is a law of God that he who does not help himself him does He not help. It is a law of God that perjury in the end punishes itself, and that whosoever serves perjury or injustice prepares himself the way for the future triumph of justice. Beholding therefore all these eternal laws, let me tell

¹ Here allusion is made to Count Szecheny, who was struck with insanity just at the time in question.

you, that my present prediction will come to pass, and it is this, that from the invasion of Jellachich will ensue the freedom of Hungary. I entreat you Hungarians, by the sacred name of our poor and betrayed fatherland, to believe in this my foretelling, and it shall be fulfilled.

“Wherein consists the power of the invader? It is a material power made up of from sixty to seventy thousand men, in part disciplined borderers. But what has he else to rely upon? Where is the people inspired with a feeling of justice to support his undertaking? Surely nowhere! Such a host may succeed in laying waste our country, but can neither conquer nor follow up its victories. Batu Khan, the Tartar leader, once inundated our land with numerous hordes, and though he laid it waste he was in the end forced to recede. A Jellachich expedition is at most like a locust swarm, pressing ever forward—continually to diminish—to be in the end entirely destroyed. The deeper these invaders press into the heart of our country the more certain will it become that not many of them shall again drink the waters of the Save. We, Hungarians, have only to will, and we are enough to destroy them, even with stones in our hands. The Magyar will not deserve to see the light of the sun of God, if his first thought at morn, and his last aspiration at evening, be not the remembrance of that black perjury and treason which so inhumanly conspired to extirpate him from the ranks of the living. What the people have therefore to do is, to rise in masses, and to lay low those who invaded their hearth and ravaged their homes. If the people do not do this, then they are a cowardly race, whose name will become a synonym for abjectness and shame,—a people which will thus make

foul the memory of their ancestors, and of whom God will say, 'I repent to have created thee.' Then, I say, the Magyars will prove to be a God-smitten people, to whom the air shall deny its vivifying power, under whose hands the fruitful soil shall turn a barren steppe, and before whom the all-enlivening springs shall dry up. Homeless shall the Hungarian then wander on the earth, and in vain implore compassion for a crumb of bread; no alms will be given to him, and his cheeks will be smitten by those strangers who shall make him a beggar in his own land, where he will be exposed to be slain unrevenged by every wretch like a stray dog. In short, then, the Hungarian will become like to those Indian pariahs that are tracked by bloodhounds. In vain shall he turn in his distress to religion—it will give no comfort to him who himself laid in dust the image of God. Vainly therefore will he hope for forgiveness of his sins. The maiden to whom he shall lift up his eyes will chase him from her threshold with her broom as one does an unclean animal; his wife will spit in contempt in his face, while the first word uttered by the infant will be, a curse on his father. It is frightful to think of what I have said, but I attest to you by heaven, by the memory of our ancestors who purchased this land with their blood, that such things will come to pass if the Hungarians be cowardly enough not to rise against their enemies and scatter them like chaff before the wind. No! no! the Magyars cannot be so dastardly; and therefore do I tell you, that from this invasion will arise the freedom of Hungary. First, to conquer, and then to reckon; this is our task. Up, therefore, to arms, whoever is a man! And ye women of Veszprem and Weisenburg, dig ye a huge grave, in which shall be buried either our name, honour

and nation, or our enemy ; and on which shall either be raised the pillar of our infamy, with the inscription, *So does God punish cowardice !*—or the evergreen tree of liberty shall be planted thereon, the tree, from among whose foliage the voice of God will be heard to speak as it did from the burning bush to Moses, saying, *The place whereon thou standest is holy: so do I reward bravery,—freedom, joy and blessing to the Magyars !*

“To arms, therefore ! He who does not obey the law sworn to by the king himself, is a traitor ; and he who will prove a traitor, let him be taken hold of and delivered over to law. All we possess is our fatherland ; in saving it we save ourselves. Whosoever commands any influence in town or village, let him raise up the standard ; let us hear on the wide plains of Hungary no other sound but the stirring and sad *Rakoczy* march ; and let every one, as he may, gather tens, hundreds, thousands of men, and march on the road of Veszprem ; there let the whole people assemble, as mankind shall in the Day of Judgment, and then—at the enemy ! Up, Hungarians ! with us is God and justice !”

The rustic population, clad in their usual costume (consisting of a sheepskin cloak hanging over a short-cut shirt, with low-crowned hats on their heads), armed with muskets and scythes, soon began to pour into the capital, moving on towards Weisenburg, whither the Ban was expected to advance. In order to be prepared for the worst, the government determined to have entrenchments thrown up on the banks of the Danube, near Buda, there to fight, if need were, the decisive battle with the Croats. No sooner was an appeal made to the people, than hundreds of the inhabitants of Buda-Pesth hastened to the spot pointed

out for the fortifications, and such was the general devotion, that many ladies of the high aristocracy, the most forward of whom were the two Orczy baronesses, clad in plain cotton gowns, and followed by their maids, put their hands to the barrow and shovel, thus encouraging, by their example, the lower classes of the people. In the meantime Jellachich, at the head of 40,000 men, rapidly advanced, while the Hungarian forces, comparatively small in number, hastily organized, and placed under the command of General Moga, likewise prepared for action. A new body, all at once raised by Perczel, then a member of the Diet, and subsequently known as a general, also joined the troops already under arms. In conformity with the laws of the country, the palatine Stephen, who but yesterday solemnly vowed to be the last to desert the interests of Hungary, repaired to the camp in his capacity of generalissimo; but instead of facing the Ban, the youthful archduke, so often the theme of praise in the mouth of Kossuth, all at once disappeared from the camp, taking the route to Vienna. As a further characteristic of this palatine (who, if made of other stuff, might have easily acted the part which Matthias had taken in regard to his brother Rudolph II.), it may here shortly be observed that the legacy he left to Hungary was a bundle of papers, some of which contained suggestions to the court of Vienna as to the surest means by which to subjugate Hungary. On the 28th of September, the van of the Croatian army reached Weisenburg, the Hungarians lying encamped at Pakozd (or Sukoro), but a few miles distant from Pesth, awaiting the attack of the Ban on the morrow. On the same day a report ran through the capital to the effect that a royal commis-

sioner, the count Lamberg, had arrived from Vienna accompanied by Austrian troops, and empowered to dissolve the Diet, and assume the supreme power. This report, calculated to infuriate the already exasperated minds of the people, was soon changed into a matter of fact by the actual appearance of the commissioner passing along the bridge from Buda to Pesth. Assaulted by a crowd of the excited populace, the count was dragged out of his carriage, and soon fell under the blows of his infuriated assailants. The report of this murder, which startled the Diet, was calculated to produce fear in many of those who repaired to the camp, lest the Austrian officers, as well as their general, Moga, should refuse to resist the advance of the Ban. Such fears were, in fact, openly expressed by Count Louis Batthyany, and shared in by several other magnates present in the camp, fears which were, however, repudiated by Perczel, who reminded these noblemen that if no one despaired of the cause of Hungary on account of the cruel murder of thousands of innocent Hungarians in the south, there was no reason whatever for auguring unhappy issues from the death of a single man, however innocent he might be deemed. The opinion of Perczel was soon confirmed by the Austrian officers themselves, who heard of the fatal event without betraying any symptoms of indignation. Thus it happened that the troops, without being at all affected by what took place at Pesth, passed the night in expectation of being attacked before morning; and scarcely had the sun risen than the Croat outposts appeared on the surrounding hills (September 29). The general engagement commenced in the forenoon, and was continued till about sunset, ending with the repulse of the Croats. Though in itself this victory

was rather of an indifferent nature, it was, on the other hand, a source of great gratification to find how idle were the threats of the Ban, as well as his loud expressions of fear lest the Diet of Pesth should not await his arrival, but abandon the capital before his triumphant entry. Jellachich having asked a truce of three days, which was imprudently granted by the Hungarian commander, used this interval to effect a rapid *flank movement* towards Vienna, regardless of the certain fate which awaited the outposts left behind to mask his flight. In the midst of his flight the Ban summoned the fortress of Comorn to a surrender, a demand the answer to which he did not wait to receive in his onward march to the Austrian frontier; nor was the fortune of his arms changed by the imperial manifesto of October 3, which appointed him governor of Hungary. A few days afterwards came up the reserve of the Croatian army, numbering upwards of 10,000 men, under the command of the generals Roth and Philippovitsch. These were soon arrested by Perczel and Görgei. In this instance the Hungarians had still easier play, for, after a short manœuvre, the 10,000 Croats laid down their arms, their two generals falling prisoners into the hands of their adversaries. Thus ended the much dreaded and long-prepared Jellachich expedition—an expedition which, appearing in the distance like a destructive tempest, proved, with the exception of the ravages the Croats committed on their way, a real blessing. Nothing was so much then wanting in Hungary as arms, which the Croats now supplied for the equipment of ten Honved battalions, who had soon to meet the regular Austrian army.¹

¹ It was about this time that Lord Ponsonby commenced his curious series of reports. Having first caused the Hungarian

After these victories, the people, who mistook the prelude of the war for the war itself, gave themselves up with more than usual alacrity to the pleasures of the vintage.

The vine mountains in Hungary, besides the precious harvest they yield, greatly tend to the completion of the general scenery, sharply outlined in the long lofty mountain ranges, contrasted with the no less imposing character of the boundless plains which, extending along the shores of the Danube, the Theiss, and the Maros, now present a black soil, yielding rich crops without any stimulus of manure, then barren steppes, covered over with quicksands. The noblest of wines, the *Tokay*, flows from the bosom of the Southern Carpathian mountain range. Vine hills of an inferior quality, called *Ermellek*, arise in defiance of the sandy plains of *Debreczin*, while a superior sort of grapes, called the *badacson*, though not to be compared to the *menes* of the *Arad* county, cover the hills of *Szalad*, spreading their odorousness to the deep oak *Bakony*-wood, the happy home of the swine. The vine, in short, flourishes in every part of the country, including the barren soil of *Croatia* and the base of the snowy mountains of *Transylvania*. Some of these bounteous hills yield, in exception to the general

troops to go over to the *Ban*, he then made the latter, on the 5th of October, a week after his flight, assume a "strong position" on the mountains of *Buda*, outlawing, amid these events, Count *L. Batthyany*, along with many other nobles, by a decree of the Diet, and sending, moreover, *Madam Kossuth* and her children to *Hamburg*. To these remarkable facts with which he favoured the *Foreign Office*, Lord *Ponsonby* also added acute remarks, to the effect that at *Pesth* a party was at work which created mischief in *Paris* and *Berlin*, and which strove to make successful a system of social war!—See *State Papers*, vol. lviii. pp. 85, 86.

rule, a red liquid. The best of the red wines flows from the mountains of Buda and Erlau;—there most blood was shed in former days.

A strange sort of industrial occupation is the vintage in Hungary!—as different from what is called in Britain industry, as is the fresh look of the vine-dresser from the ghastly face of a factory workman. A very small portion of this vast quantity of wine passes into other hands for money—few cultivate it for the sake of sale; and there is scarcely a single nobleman of moderate fortune, if not possessed of vast vineyards, who in this occupation ever rises to that pitch of mental speculation where capital and interest sit in judgment over the doings of man. In Hungary the vintage is the bearer only of concord and of joy.

The days of this festivity generally commence at the beginning of September, and continue till the last days of October, when frosty weather ushers in. The circumstance of the vineyards being for the most part at considerable distances from the residences of their owners, serves much to increase the bustle, activity, and ceremonies inaugurating this annual festival. A day or two before the landlord himself and family depart for the scene of action, are sent the carriages, laden with the necessary tubs, casks, and butts, which are simultaneously from all directions of the same neighbourhood set in motion. These move on at a slow pace in solemn procession amid the peculiar strain of music arising from the knocking on each other of the empty vessels huddled together by the arbitrary will of man—a music which is much encouraged by the capriciousness of the roads. The carrying of these significant types is generally entrusted to the meek slow-pacing oxen, a caution rendered the more necessary,

as among or within these wooden utensils are packed the earthen, and no less important, cooking instruments, the guardianship of which is always delegated to the cook-maid, the most conspicuous figure in the van. With a clean white kerchief covering her long weft of hair, which runs straight down her back, the cook takes her seat in the centre of the carriage, holding in her hands a frying-pan or a ladle, of primary importance as the insignia of her power. While the van is thus moving on, the master of the feast in the meantime awaits the arrival of the friends he has invited, then briskly follows, either the same day or the day after, though always stopping on the road in quest of new guests. Arriving at the spot, he finds in the little cottage at the foot of the vineyard, and consisting of two or three small apartments, everything in order, and the large oblong table covered. With daybreak after his arrival the work begins; the nodding branches easily part with their tender stem, by the gentle touch of the vine reaper, equally refreshing himself by the flavour and substance of the grape, while the master and guests do their best to diminish the quantity of the new wine by a slow and incessant process of consumption of what seems most attractive either to the eye or the palate. The charms of such days being too strong to allow of long early dinners, the chief meal generally takes place after sunset, and the usual dishes, as roasted mutton, fowl, and peculiar meal meats or puddings, are washed down by the aid of the cup overbrimming with the old in the presence of the yet slighted new wine; the countenance of the lord of the feast radiant with joy in proportion to the number of the guests he has been able to gather, the ringing of the glasses begins imperceptibly to mingle with

the sounds of songs, in which all the males and females soon heartily join, and every vineyard cottage lying near each other, seems thus to be the abode of unmingled joy. We say seems, because over the wildest outburst of Hungarian conviviality there always hovers a tinge of gloom, the invisible monitor of national grief.

This was the last vintage or national rejoicings in Hungary. With the lapse of less than twelve months the gallows marked the way from one vineyard to the other, and the guests of the vintage were mostly hunted Hungarians in disguise. Ever since that year, these abodes, made by nature for the rejoicing of men, are infested by hosts of foreign *gens d'armes* and spies, which render social life a burden.

Before proceeding further to the scenes of war, we must shortly indicate the change in the government before the engagement with the Ban of Croatia took place. Having failed in his last attempt made with the court of Vienna to bring about a pacific solution of the pending difficulties, Count Louis Batthyany resigned, a step followed by all his colleagues except Szemere, the secretary for home affairs. Having shortly reverted, before the House, to the calamity and confusion which might be expected to arise on the approach of the Ban, if the country were left without an executive, Szemere declared his readiness and duty to continue in office so long as his nomination would not be cancelled by the king himself. This praiseworthy attitude induced Kossuth also to declare his intentions to remain at his post, and thus it happened that, instead of the late ministry, a committee of defence was nominated by the Diet, with the last mentioned minister as its president. Let us now return to the camp.

No sooner was the sudden movement of the Ban towards the Austrian frontiers made known, than the Hungarian troops were ordered to pursue the enemy; but before they could be overtaken, the Croats had already crossed the frontiers. The Austrian capital, in continual agitation ever since the month of March, became the more so after the approach of Jellachich became known. On the 6th of October the population rose in arms, and after having, with unexpected intrepidity, stormed the arsenal, they demanded vengeance on Latour, the minister at war, who had always been distrusted by the people, and whose secret understanding with the Ban had become a matter of fact. Carrying everything before them, they ended by wreaking their fury on Latour, who was dragged from his place of concealment and hanged from a lamp-post. After this event a speedy concentration of troops took place under the command of Prince Windischgratz, for the purpose, as might easily have been foreseen, of first taking Vienna, and then commencing operations against Hungary. Common sense would surely have dictated the judiciousness of attacking Jellachich before his junction with Windischgratz. The Hungarian Committee of Defence and Diet, however, thought otherwise. To them the crossing of the Austrian frontiers, that is to say, the doing of the same thing that the Ban had done, seemed a matter of serious consideration. A policy idle in the extreme, and, of course, highly disadvantageous. Three weeks had passed when the resolution of marching the troops across the frontier was at last decided upon, a time when the population of Vienna, on whose irruption the Hungarians reckoned, had already undergone a long siege, and thus became half dispirited. Scarcely mustering

a few thousand disciplined soldiers, the Hungarian troops, swelled by several thousand raw levies brought by Kossuth, as plenipotentiary-commissioner of the Diet, engaged the enemy on the 28th of October, near Schwechat. The battle was commenced by the Hungarians, in the vain hope of seeing Windischgratz simultaneously attacked by the Viennese, and soon ended in the victory of the Austro-Croatian army, as a few discharges of the batteries of Windischgratz sufficed to put into wild flight the raw levies, who were, moreover, irregularly disposed in the ranks. This unfortunate battle was fought under the auspices of the Austrian general Moga, who now declined any longer to have the lead of the Hungarians, and whose post was filled up by Görgei, at the nomination of Kossuth, the representative of the Diet in the camp. The Hungarian troops subsequently returned to Presburg, while Kossuth took his way to Pesth. In relating to the House the events of the field, Kossuth likewise notified his provisional nomination of Görgei, amid the general cheers of the House, expressing at the same time his conviction that the troops were now in hands at once patriotic and able, and that the new commander was a man who would at any time prove ready to lay down his command and serve his country as a common soldier. Premature praise was that of Kossuth!—though no one could then have presumed to anticipate just the contrary of this prediction. Now did the real war begin to loom over Hungary, as at this time no one doubted a very near invasion on the part of Austria as soon as the necessary preparations for that purpose should be accomplished. As often happened in other countries, Hungary also saw how misfortune was the best test of civic virtue, as within this interval several

noblemen, hitherto siding with and aiding the national cause, determined either simply to retire or to leave the country. Among the former the most conspicuous was Prince Esterhazy, a man who, from his vast riches, owed the greatest debt to Hungary; among the latter, though by no means from want of patriotic feelings, was Baron Eötvös, the minister of public instruction, than whom none advocated more warmly and constantly the establishment of a Hungarian ministry. But little as the Hungarian revolution suffered by the absence of this latter minister, it was not so with regard to Count Szecheny, who, overpowered in those doubtful moments with gloomy forebodings, fell a prey to insanity, a malady under which he labours to this day. How far that statesman might have influenced the course of events during the stormy days that soon followed, it would be difficult to determine. But as much may safely be asserted, as that Szecheny, if in office, would have had energy enough to exact strict obedience, a quality which afterwards was most of all others in requisition.

An incident of no small importance which happened just at the time of the advance of the Ban, was the interception of the letters of the war minister, Latour, to Jellachich. This correspondence entirely laid bare the policy of the court of Vienna as regarded Hungary. According to the plan concerted, the Ban was to advance upon the capital of Hungary, when General Mayerhofer was expected to subjugate southern Hungary, General Puchner to advance upon Grosvardein from Transylvania, and a body under General Simunich to march into Upper Hungary from Galicia. In addition to this plan, frustrated in its very embryo by the unsuccessful manœuvre of the Ban, and the

other generals mentioned, the Austrian government reckoned on getting possession of the fortresses, and thereby subjecting the surrounding places. But in the last instance also the scheme completely failed. General Marz, wishing to play Comorn into the hands of the Austrian government, was disconcerted in his designs by the vigilance of the people of the town, who succeeded in throwing into that impregnable bulwark several volunteer battalions; while Peter-Vardein, the next fortress of great importance, was rescued to the nation by the patriotism of the late Don Miguel regiment, notwithstanding that it was officered by Croats. All these circumstances, however, were insufficient to dictate to the Hapsburg dynasty a conciliatory line of conduct, but on the contrary, they served only to increase the desire for the subjugation of Hungary by force of arms. The aspect of Europe, it may be here added, seemed at that time rather favourable for such a defiant policy. In Italy, from which quarter Austrian influence was a few months ago most threatened, Radetzky became by this time enabled to assume the offensive, and to repossess himself of Milan, in the presence of republican France, ruled by Cavignac, a general who, following what is termed a *laissez faire* policy, contented himself with the formation of the Alp corps of observation, a manœuvre which was in no way calculated to strike fear into the heart of the Hapsburgs. And while Austria thought herself thus secured from France, it had on the other hand much ground to draw courage from the attitude taken by the court of St Petersburg. For it is well known that at the outbreak of a popular movement in Wallachia, about the time in question, the Czar immediately ordered his troops to march across the Pruth for the suppression of what

was called the revolutionary spirit, thus extending his Cossacks to the very frontiers of Transylvania.

Among the less important but ominous phenomena of those days may be mentioned the appearance of the first *Peace Congress*. At such a moment when so many of the down-trodden nations were in the act of snapping their chains, what was natural to expect was the appearance of a society both preaching and aiding the downfall of tyranny. To see, instead, a summons to universal peace issue from the democratic camp, might well be taken as a symptom either of the absence of earnest sympathy with freedom, or of the morbid and idle character of that sympathy if it did exist.

The subjugation of Hungary was accordingly entrusted not to the Ban, who but yesterday was nominated plenipotentiary-governor of that country, but to Prince Windischgratz, a general who after having bombarded Prague and scattered to the winds the Slave congress assembled in that city, succeeded, though with more difficulty, in rendering himself master at Vienna, which was defended by the Polish general Bem, who subsequently played such a conspicuous part in Hungary. Amid these warlike preparations the dynasty determined upon causing the poor weak-minded Ferdinand to abdicate in favour of Francis-Joseph, the son of the Arch-duke Francis-Charles, brother of the Emperor Ferdinand, and heir presumptive to the throne. Owing to the scarcity of arms the preparations on the part of the Hungarians continued to progress but slowly. Much, however, was expected from the reorganisation which took place in the army, now under the chief command of Görgei, the headquarters of which were Presburg. Of this officer's talents very little could be known up to that time; the only

occasion afforded for the display of his military capacity was his co-operation with Perczel, as his superior in rank, at the capture of the 10,000 Croats, a juncture at which Görgei performed an act exhibiting much determination, by signing the sentence of death passed upon Count Zichy, who was found to have held secret communication with the Ban. But if Görgei possessed the power of drilling raw recruits into strict discipline by severe and unmitigated rule, he on the other hand exhibited none of those qualities by which a general often awakens a spirit of courage and emulation by a condescending familiarity to his men at large. Hating the irregular levies, and the so-called volunteer battalions, Görgei, instead of patiently trying to convert such forces into regular Honved regiments, as many other commanders had done, he at once dismissed these disorderly troops to their respective homes, thereby considerably reducing the number of the forces under his command. In fact, the following letter written by Görgei at that time to one of his unnamed friends will sufficiently show his real feelings in reference to undisciplined warriors, comprising in themselves all the ranks of society, from the high nobility down to the rude, free-minded shepherds of the Pustas, and will moreover show how worthy he was to be the chief defender of a cause that was at once desperate and sacred :—"He who never saw a revolutionary army may undertake a pilgrimage to my camp. There is a commander-in-chief, with staff and suite, not one of them over forty. There are also soldiers, but the real soldier amongst them blushes for his comrades. To command is here to make one's self ridiculous. A reprimand is declaimed against as an impertinence ; punishment as a tyranny. Therefore, thought I with myself in my simplicity,

'eat bird or die!' and drive these worthless fellows to the devil; that is, if I do not previously order them to be shot. The cholera assists; and if the enemy does his part, the trio will soon have finished the game. But I cannot comprehend this fellow (here is meant the Austrian commander); he is at least twice as strong as I am, yet he does not attack. All his patrols ask only for hussars; my first attempt shall be to make him ask for the Honveds also. The young fellows are not much disposed to venture themselves unless they have each a cannon in their haversack; and, besides, that one hussar on their right and another on their left hand. But, patience! the fever will abate at length; it is true the Hungarian fever generally lasts a good while. I hope it will do so before next spring; that is, if we live so long."¹ Such sentiments of course none of those poor Honvéds, who afterwards shattered the Austrian forces, would have imagined to have been harboured by their commander. It would be idle indeed to say that these Honveds never at first turned their backs in the day of battle; but, be it remembered, that even among that army which followed Buonaparte to the victory of Marengo were regiments who fled precipitately and were openly rebuked in the bulletins of that great captain.

Having learned from the papers the abdication of Ferdinand and the accession of Francis Joseph, the Diet, in conformity with an ancient law, which says, "that the King of Hungary cannot be discharged from

¹ We give these few lines of a letter of which Görgei gives only an extract, admitted by the author to be a trivial production, but which he inserted to serve as a proof of his *critical position and moderate hopes*.—*My Life and Acts in Hungary*, in the years 1848 and 1849. By Arthur Görgei, vol. i., p. 128.

the duties of his sovereignty without the consent of the States, and that in case of resignation, the Diet has the appointment of a regency"—declared these acts to be illegal, and that no allegiance was due to Francis Joseph, so long as he was not crowned by the consent of the nation. The new emperor, in the meantime, announced his accession to the throne in a manifesto, dated December 2d, in which profuse promises were not wanting of a future reign in the spirit of liberty. His majesty, at the sametime, adverting to the condition of the troubled provinces, declared his determination to reduce them by force of arms. This latter declaration, as might be expected, served only the more to strengthen the spirit of resistance both in Hungary and the Italian provinces. Hungary had thus to gather her strength for meeting the real enemy, at a juncture when the war in the Banat and in Transylvania was raging as fiercely as ever. In the south the well-planned operations of Vetter and Coloman, as well as the bold expeditions undertaken by Damyanics, were indeed calculated to make the Raitzen rue their having first appealed to arms. Such was not the case, however, in Transylvania, where the Austrian army under Puchner, co-operating with the large masses of Wallachs, daily gained ground. Animated by hopes of seeing themselves masters of the properties, the owners of which would be extirpated, the Wallachs carried on the work of slaughter against the Magyars without the least regard to sex or age. With a ferocity, altogether unaccountable, these savage marauders took a fiendish delight in the torture of the female sex, committing acts of brutal cruelty, the mere indication of which would be too revolting for these pages. Isolated country seats, villages, and even several of the

larger towns were successively destroyed with fire and sword by these bloody confederates of the Hapsburg throne, who took pleasure in the sight of the smouldering corpses of the defenceless inhabitants. Among the towns thus laid desolate was Enyed, a town containing within its walls the greatest Protestant school in Transylvania, the foundation of which was laid by the liberal prince Bethlen-Gabor, and which was the repository of a large number of rare books and manuscripts. All of these were reduced to ashes, along with the greater part of the inhabitants, several hundreds of whom were burnt alive within the walls of a church in which they had vainly sought a refuge. Transylvania presented at that time an aspect of unutterable desolation, a desolation the more painful by the recollection that it was perpetrated in the name of the emperor, and under the imperial standard. After the lapse of but a few months, when the Hungarian army passed triumphantly from one extremity of that principality to the other, had the retribution been dealt out as indiscriminately as were the crimes, a million of Wallachs would have covered with their corpses its already blood-steeped soil. From such vengeance, however, from which many a more civilized nation has not in similar circumstances shrunk back, the Hungarians magnanimously refrained.

Windischgratz, joined by the remnants of the Ban's army, and numbering altogether above 60,000 men, invaded Hungary in the month of December. The Hungarians, under the command of Görgei, had their head quarters in Presburg. From its contiguity to the Austrian frontiers, this town was in the sixteenth century chosen as the rendezvous of the Austrian party, and thus continued to be the permanent seat of the

Diet. Situated on the banks of the Danube, which there reaching the Hungarian soil, continues its course down to Orsova, there to enter the Ottoman territory before discharging its waters into the Black Sea, the beauty of Presburg is heightened by the presence of the lofty Carpathians, which look down on plains of the richest verdure, intersected by sloping vine-clad hills. The fortress which rises above the town serves rather to add picturesqueness to the immediate scenery than to afford any material advantage in a military point of view; though the nature of the soil in general is undoubtedly very favourable for defensive warfare. Görgei, hearing of the approach of the Austrian commander, thought it better to retreat with his inferior forces from Presburg, which was soon entered by the van of Windischgratz. Midway between that town and Buda-Pesth, the most favourable place of resistance is offered by the Vertes mountains, where the Hungarians were expected to make a stand. But a few days sufficed to show the unimpeded progress of the enemy, by the sudden retreat of Görgei to the vicinity of Buda. This unlooked for event was justly calculated to startle the government, and the more so, as in the midst of his retreat, Görgei sent to the capital a bulletin announcing decided victory. Amid these moments of anxiety, relieved by faint glimpses of hope as to the success of a final resistance in the neighbourhood of the capital, the Diet resolved to send a deputation to Windischgratz, in order to treat for peace. While the question was agitated in the Diet, "Who are to be the members sent to the enemy's camp?" the noble Count Louis Batthyany (little suspecting the tragic retribution by which his loyalty was to be rewarded) twice rose from his seat, exclaiming,

"If the noble States think I, by my personal influence, may do something for the cause, I will readily be among the number." The deputation was accordingly despatched to the enemy's camp—only to be immediately made prisoners by him to whom they offered the olive branch. Having been foiled in the attempt at a peaceful negotiation, the Diet determined to abandon the capital, and to transfer its seat to Debreczin, a town on the other side of the Theiss, in Lower Hungary. In a council of war held at the same time, it was determined that Görgei, with the bulk of the army, should retreat through the mountain districts, while a small body under Perczel was to march straight to Szolnok, which stands on the Theiss, midway between Pesth and Debreczin. This plan of operation was the work of Vetter, who was called to the capital from the camp of the Lower Danube, and whose councils were much needed in Debreczin. On the 3d of January 1849, Windischgratz, to the consternation of the people, took possession of Buda-Pesth, announcing his reign by a proclamation of the state of siege.

The events which happened from the sanctioning of the laws of March in Presburg, to the convocation of the Diet of Pesth, to provide for the safety of the country, and from that time to the nomination of Windischgratz, as plenipotentiary military ruler of Hungary, have been here too shortly narrated to require a recapitulation, nor shall we add any comment. Were Shakspeare to rise from his sleep of three hundred years, again he might exclaim :—

O Austria !

What a fool art thou,

A ramping fool ; to brag, and stamp, and swear
Upon my party ! thou cold blooded slave,

Hast thou not spoke like thunder on my side?
Been sworn my soldier? Bidding me depend
Upon thy stars, thy fortune and thy strength?
And dost thou now fall over to my foes?
Thou wear'st a lion's hide! doff it for shame,
And hang a calf's skin on those recreant limbs.

CHAPTER XI.

THE DIET IN DEBRECZIN—FURTHER EVENTS OF THE WAR—FIRST RUSSIAN INVASION—THE SPRING-CAMPAIGN—DETHRONIZATION OF THE HAPSBURGS—SECOND RUSSIAN INVASION—END OF THE WAR—MASSACRES AT ARAD—SUBSEQUENT EVENTS—(1849-1850.)

DEBRECZIN, where the government took up its seat, is situated in the midst of a vast sandy plain extending along the banks of the Theiss, a river, next to the Danube, the largest in Hungary, and which taking its rise in the mountainous county of Marmoros, a district rich in salt mines, continues its course of five hundred miles down to Titel, where it vanishes in the waters of the Danube. This town numbering 60,000 inhabitants, almost entirely Protestants, presents with its long and spacious streets a uniformity of lines of low houses, thatched and white-washed, which is relieved only by a few buildings of an imposing aspect, such as the large Protestant college, a few of the churches, and the town-house. The inhabitants of Debreczin are mostly small landed proprietors, having in addition to a large heath, which serves as a common pasture, small patches of land turned into vineyards. Inaccessible to the demands of ever advancing time, the Debrecziners, with very few exceptions, continue their lives as

in the days of old, the burghers prudent enough to pride themselves on their ignorance, being so much engrossed with the feeding of pigs, which forms the chief article of their industry, as to think such enterprises of life as the making of roads and street-paving a matter of idle luxury. Nor is the passage from one street into another, in rainy weather, a matter of slight consideration in Debreczin. From reasons hitherto unexplained, the people of Debreczin are rather of a cold temperament, and neither present that easy manner or sociability of disposition which characterize so much the rest of the Magyar people.

The monotonous life of this town is, however, sometimes broken by the arrival of some country gentlemen, a fact generally first known to the gipsy musicians, who, without asking permission, will post themselves before the door of the guest, and begin to strike the chords to a tune, which always happens to be the greatest favourite of the individual for whom it is intended. The vast number of students does not the less contribute to enliven the dulness. In the evenings, after having recovered from their daily labour, in a convivial meeting in some coffee-house, amid the ringing of wine glasses, and the rattle of the billiards, these uncereemonious and fiery youths (whose blood flowed so abundantly about this time) return to their respective homes, now and then rending the air with the sound of some national melody, and sometimes disturbing the repose of a popular professor with a hearty serenade in honour of his birthday.

In this dull town the government was surrounded by a patriotic population, who had long felt in former ages the friendly presence of Turkish garrisons, and were ready now to defend their country against the Hapsburgs.

As was anticipated, Windischgratz contenting himself with sending some of his troops down to Szolnok, abstained from immediately commencing a regular expedition against the new seat of the Diet. The reasons for so doing were too obvious. Besides the extreme fatigue of his army, he could not forget the inimical feeling of the population of those counties through which he triumphantly passed, nor be blind to the dangers which might befall him in advancing through a territory covered with swamps, and noted for its wretched roads, in addition to the passage of the Theiss, a river which, with the slightest change of the weather, might have converted the surrounding plains into a sea. But, irrespective of all this, the Austrian commander-in-chief had much reason to believe that Debreczin would be instantly taken either by Puchner, now victorious in Transylvania, or by General Schlik, who advanced from Gallicia to the town of Kashau without meeting with any serious check. Matters, however, turned out otherwise. After the capture of Vienna by Windischgratz, Bem, the Polish general, followed by a handful of the youth of that capital, succeeded in making his escape into Hungary, and was soon entrusted with the command of a corps. This corps, formerly under the command of Colonel Katona, had been utterly routed by the Austrian forces in Transylvania, which now anticipated the capture of Gross-Vardein and Debreczin. But no sooner did Bem assume the command of these scattered troops, in the month of December, than he instantly adopted the offensive; and advancing with his usual and most extraordinary rapidity, he at once appeared before the walls of Klausenburg, the capital of Transylvania. Part of the Austrian garrison were captured and the rest were

forced to a precipitate retreat. Debreczin was thus rendered secure from the side of Transylvania, even before the Austrians entered Buda-Pesth, while the advance of the Schlik corps was soon arrested by Klapka. This Hungarian officer, afterwards distinguished as a general, met the enemy at Tarczal, near Tokay, and after two days' fighting compelled them to retreat. Such events contributed to ease the minds of the members of the Diet, who began regularly to continue their sittings, while the Committee of Defence was encouraged to carry on with redoubled vigour the equipment and arming of new levies, which poured into Debreczin.¹ As to the fate of the Görgei army in its retreat through the mountainous districts nothing certain transpired, except the rumour of a proclamation, dated January 4th 1849, issued by Görgei at Waitzen, before commencing his march. Opening his harangue with a sort of self-accusation for having obeyed the orders of the government, which exposed the troops to useless and harassing fatigues, Görgei proceeded to cast blame upon the government for having suddenly left the capital; for sending a deputation offering peace to Windischgratz without the knowledge of his army; and then, after pointing to the play of individual interest,

¹ These events did not much influence the determination of the British ambassador at Vienna. From Lord Ponsonby's dispatches we learn "that the Diet in Debreczin seeing the impossibility of persisting in their rebellious plans, have resolved on disbanding the Hungarian army," and that "Schlik will advance upon Debreczin with the intention of confirming the Diet in their resolution." Besides this, we learn that Bem is totally defeated; that "the imperial troops close in upon the rebels on all sides," and that the war is looked upon as nearly at an end.—*State Papers*, 1851, vol. lviii., p. 131-140.

as well as republican intrigues, he ended with the declaration, that his corps was ready to defend the laws sanctioned by King Ferdinand V., both against foreign and intestine enemies; and that it would only accede to a peace with the enemy which would, on the one hand, guarantee the laws of the country, and secure, on the other, the military honour of the corps." The general tenor of this proclamation needs scarcely be dwelt upon; its object to lower the government in the eyes of the troops being too evident to require further explanation. Nor can it be understood how Görgei, in pointing at republican intrigues, of which there was not then the slightest shadow in the bosom of the government, could in full earnest accuse this government for attempting a pacification with the Austrian commander-in-chief. But, irrespective of all that, the tenor of such a harangue was undoubtedly quite unwarranted and most arrogant from the mouth of a commander who up to the date in question had not a single victory to boast of. The most pleasing part of this proclamation is the declaration not to obey orders except they came from the minister of war, Meszaros, or his substitute. It will soon be seen how far Görgei remained faithful in his professions of obedience to that true patriot, now in search of a new home in the transatlantic world. The chief reason which might have moved that officer to issue such a document was probably his belief of the wars being already at an end; and the declaration of allegiance to Ferdinand made in it was probably meant as a safeguard in case of being compelled to surrender. This assumption seems in fact to be placed almost beyond doubt by the statements of Görgei himself. For in his book the reader is repeatedly told of his readiness to surrender, an at-

tempt which, as Görgei says, was prevented by his staff-officers. In Waitzen, however, not a shadow of the necessity of surrender presented itself, and the army thus moved onwards to make its way through the narrow passes of the Carpathians. This retreat which continued for several weeks, and thus became renowned in the military annals of Europe, was in fact no slight task, not so much from the circumstance of its having been accomplished in the presence of an alert pursuing enemy, but from the difficulties presented by nature, aggravated by the season of the year. Let us imagine an ill-clad body of men, scarcely provided with the most scanty necessities of life, passing a whole month in the open air in the midst of a most severe winter, doomed to drag heavy loads of iron through glaucous passes, intercepted by cliffs covered with a smooth treacherous veil of snow. Let us further imagine these men continuing to toil on, undaunted by the sight of many of their comrades, hurled down, man, horse, and carriage together, into the yawning abyss beneath, still keeping up their spirits, and even ready for gaining victories,—and we shall be enabled to form some idea of what those poor Honveds (so renowned, according to Görgei, for their *cowardice*) suffered and performed during this retreat.

After having sustained severe losses near the town of Schemnitz, which lies in the midst of the mineral districts, Görgei's corps moved on as far as the defiles of Branitzko, already occupied by General Schlik, so that the Hungarians found themselves placed between two fires. At this juncture Görgei ordered the storming of that pass to be undertaken by the Guyon division, a task which, judging from the description of this division, as given by the commander-in-chief,

might rather have been meant as a satire. The gallant Briton, however, proud of this mark of distinction, soon rallied his worn-out battalions, and, himself shewing the way, rushed with his followers on the enemy, who, after a hearty and hand to hand fight, was thrown from his fortified positions, and forced to seek refuge in precipitate flight.¹ After this feat of valour, the first in Görgei's camp, the Hungarians moved on without much opposition as far as the town of Eperies, which they reached in the beginning of February, when a regular communication commenced between the Görgei corps and the troops assembled on the Theiss. In the meantime Debreczin became enlivened by the arrival of Dembinsky, a Polish general, known from his campaigns against the Russians. Dembinsky, who up to that date lived in Paris, offered his services to the Hungarian ambassador, Count Teleki, by whom the offer was accepted. This veteran soldier effected his entry into Hungary in disguise; and no sooner had he made his appearance in Debreczin than he was nominated commander-in-chief. It would be unjust here to pronounce a decided opinion on the military talents of Dembinsky, who, as will be seen, had no opportunity in Hungary to exhibit them, not having been allowed to carry out any of his plans of operation. It seems, however, that his fame much surpassed his real abilities.

¹ In his book (*My Life and Actions*) Görgei, in referring to the battle of Branitzko, speaks of the "torments" he experienced from "the uncertainty as to the issue of this critical affair," and of his having been carried in his despair to "the height of intellectual activity; from which the still hopeful look, bolder than ever, attempts to penetrate the veil of the future." On this singular passage General Kmety (*Refutation of some of the Pri-*

The chief feature of the campaign now concerted was the concentration of as many troops as possible, for which purpose even the army of the Banat was ordered to leave those districts entirely unprotected, and to march towards Szolnok to the Theiss. The necessity of withdrawing these troops from the south was the more grievous, as the Austrians continued to receive levies from Servia, a task chiefly accomplished by the Servian general Knitchanin. The army, placed at the disposal of Dembinsky, mustered about fifty thousand men, and the first battle was fought on the 27th February, at Kalpona, whence Windischgratz, with the bulk of his army, now recovered from their fatigues, thought to advance upon Debreczin. This battle, which continued for two days, ended without either party being victorious; and while it was thought in Debreczin that the loss was on the side of the Hungarians, the people of Pesth, seeing the retreating columns of the enemy, were led to believe quite the contrary. The most disagreeable affair connected with this battle, however, was the dissensions which broke out in the Hungarian camp, the majority of the high officers refusing to acknowledge Dembinsky as their commander-in-chief. And thus it happened that, in the presence of Szemere, the late minister for home affairs, and plenipotentiary-commissioner in the camp,

*cial Misstatements in Görgei's "Life and Actions," etc.), in expressing his wonder that on the critical evening when Guyon and his devoted battalions were engaged in the sanguinary conflict, the distressed commander-in-chief caused his officers to enjoy the pleasures of a *soirée dansante*, justly remarks that "the inevitably near and great dangers" ought to have forced Görgei not to the "height of intellectual activity," but to the height of *Branitzko*.*

the deposition of Dembinski was decided upon. On the arrival of the report of these dissensions at Debrezin, Assulin, the president of the Committee of Defense, repaired to the camp, but to no other purpose than to accept the war against him. On the resignation of Dembinski as to his readiness to resign his post, Teter was nominated commander-in-chief. He, however, was soon afterwards supplanted by Gergel. With the proclamation of Vukitch before our eyes, the giving of the chief command to Gergel is undoubtedly a serious and inadmissible blunder, unless it was meant as an example of a premium on disobedience. The disagreeable effects produced by the battle of Kalpina, and the dissensions suggested with it, soon disappeared at the approach of the army of the Zarai, under Dembinski, to the vicinity of Sandomir. Inured to war, and already upon a march of over 100 miles, this army had now to show, in the heart of the country, what strength they were really made of. Nor did they disappoint in the expectation raised. The student Convents of Vukitch, as well as the old and young Militia and Alexander's regiments, who were the first to meet the red-coated Austrian army of their equals, were so in regard to Kalpina, as the Prussians were to Oliver Cromwell, who was the first who awaited them at Sedgwick's battle, near the city of Naseov. The

The battle of Kalpina was a very important one, and was attended with great success. It was according to the orders of Dembinski. The Austrian army, however, was not completely defeated, and the Prussians, under Dembinski, Gergel, and the other regiments, were not completely defeated. The battle was a very important one, and was attended with great success. It was according to the orders of Dembinski. The Austrian army, however, was not completely defeated, and the Prussians, under Dembinski, Gergel, and the other regiments, were not completely defeated.

Austrians, under the command of Ottinger and the Ban, lay encamped on the Pesth side of the Theiss. The Hungarians, who took the offensive, had thus to cross that river, which was done with uncommon expedition. Awakened by the clash of arms, the Austrian batteries opened their cross fire on the approaching enemy, who advanced three abreast. "They give us bullets, boys," exclaimed Damyanics, "we must have guns also!" The "boys" understood the exhortation, and firmly advancing with fixed bayonets, rushed to the charge. The Austrian artillerymen soon lay dead beneath their guns, while the infantry and light horse, broken, took wildly to flight, hundreds of them perishing by the swords of their pursuers, or in the swamps of the inundated river. The remnant were glad to take refuge in the vicinity of Pesth. In the meantime affairs took quite another turn in Transylvania.

But before speaking of the events in that principality, it would be unjust to omit mention of the few youthful warriors who followed Bem into Transylvania after their escape from the Austrian capital. These brave youths, eighty-five in number, were the fragments of the Academic Legion of Vienna. Clinging with filial affection to their leader, this little band formed the life-guard of Bem, proving at first the most intrepid of the Transylvanian army. In his onward march, Bem used to exclaim to his guard, "This way leads to Vienna,"—a motto which seemed soon to be near its realization. But the sudden reverse of fortune which ultimately followed, these student-soldiers did not live to see. Almost all of them fell fighting sword in hand, to disappear among the carnage of battle, uncoffined, unknelled, and without a grave. Never

counting the number of the enemy, and undaunted by the severest losses, Bem carried on his manœuvres with his wonted zeal and activity; and though he at first operated without the Szekler, who subsequently constituted the bulk of his army, he proved more than a match for the Austrians. Bem was, undoubtedly, at the commencement of his campaign, much encouraged by the devotion of the aristocracy, many of whom enrolled as privates in his ranks, while others aided his operations by their military talents. The most fatal battle he fought was at Piski; and though with but a handful of men, encouraged by the unexampled bravery of Kemeny, his undaunted courage converted defeat into victory. About the end of January the Austrian commander, whose head-quarters were Hermanstadt, the chief town of the Saxons, seeing the impossibility of offering any further resistance, applied for help to Luders, the commander of the Russian forces in the Danubian principalities, a demand readily granted. The Russians, in the beginning of February, accordingly entered Transylvania, taking up their quarters chiefly in the towns of Hermanstadt and Kronstadt. As the circulars of Count Nesselrode have recently enjoyed a peculiar kind of notoriety, we shall here reproduce the following passage of a despatch of that diplomatist to M. Brunnow, Russian ambassador at the court of St James', written on the subject of the Russian intervention. After saying that the Russians have been invited by the Austrian general Puchner, and a deputation of the people of Hermanstadt, whom the Cossacks are to defend against the cruelties of the Magyars, the Russian minister proceeds: "You will come to the conclusion, that the emperor in authorizing the entrance of some troops into Transylvania, has been

solely influenced by motives of humanity. The measure should be considered as *purely local, having nothing in common with an armed intervention* in the internal affairs of the Austrian government. The Austrian empire is too powerful, that power has been proved too gloriously in former times, by the energy with which that empire has, by itself, suppressed four successive insurrections, for it to require material assistance from us in Transylvania. Already master of Hungary, it has nearly accomplished the defeat of the rebels; and the capture of Hermanstadt and Kronstadt, if Bem had succeeded in effecting it, could only be temporary, without tending to save the rebels from the destruction which ultimately awaits them. But however short would have been the occupation of these towns, it would have been sufficient to have delivered them to massacre and devastation; and it is this gratuitous misfortune which we, in concert with the Austrian authorities, have desired to avert. *This was the sole object of the movement which our troops have made.* It is in this sense, M. le Baron, that you will have to reply to the interpellations which persons may address to you with regard to a passing incident which has no other *political importance than that which ill-will would wish to attach to it.*"¹

Not to dwell here on a subject involving so many grave considerations, the question involuntarily presents itself, whether Russia, which in the face of the world is carrying on the work of slaughter for a whole generation against an unoffending and most gallant people, evinced more finesse or effrontery in proclaiming its intervention in Hungary as a measure of a

¹ See *State Papers*, 1851, vol. lviii. p. 145.

purely moral character, with no political intentions whatever, or the court of St James' more forbearance in expressing its satisfaction with such an explanation, as by such conduct it manifestly acknowledged itself the dupe of Russian diplomacy! In fact, it can scarcely be denied that such a piece of diplomacy is hardly digestible even by experienced and hardened European statesmen, and that despatches of a similar character constitute a strange manual of devotion for the diplomatic neophyte.¹ This intervention, however, was much opposed by the Porte, which in such an act saw the violation of her exclusive sovereignty over the

¹ We cannot refrain from quoting a few lines from the *Age of Bronze*, a poem written at a time when the court of St Petersburg, then under Alexander, professed feelings of compassion towards Sardinia and Spain similar to those which we see Nicholas express towards Hungary. An unsurpassable *manuel diplomatique* these lines of Byron are! worthy to be committed to memory by every statesman of Europe. They are, besides, well worthy of quotation, if only to prove the great powers of the bard when his muse was brought to grapple with the realities of European society at large—a muse whose chief strength, according to a not unfashionable belief, lay in the morbid power of creating Byrons in the shape of Corsairs and Manfreds. Such grasp of satire as this may challenge comparison with the bitterest epigrams of the *Age of Gold*:—

“Resplendent sight! Behold the coxcomb Czar,
The autocrat of waltzes and of war!
As eager for a plaudit as a realm,
And just as fit for flirting as the helm;
A Calmuck beauty with a Cossack wit,
And generous spirit, when 'tis not frost-bit,
Now half dissolving to a liberal thaw,
But harden'd back whene'er the morning's raw;
With no objection to true liberty
Except that it would make the nations free.
How well the imperial dandy prates of peace!
How fain, if Greeks would be his slaves, free Greece!

Danubian provinces. In a despatch to Sir Stratford Canning (dated January 22), the British consul at Bucharest says, "I have just left Inad Effendi. His excellency deplored the resolution to which the cabinet of St Petersburg had come; and he trusted that even yet such a grave step, and all its consequences, might be prevented. He begged general Duhamel (the Russian commander) to consider what would be the effect of such a departure from all the principles of non-intervention which European cabinets had laid down, and particularly Russia. Leaving aside the question as specially regarded Turkey, such a measure might lead to the adoption of a line of conduct on the part of France towards Austria on the Italian ques-

How nobly gave he back the Poles their Diet,
Then told pugnacious Poland to be quiet!
How kindly would he send the mild Ukraine,
With all her pleasant pulks, to lecture Spain.
How royally show off in proud Madrid
His goodly person, from the South long hid!
A blessing cheaply purchased, the world knows,
By having Muskovites for friends or foes!
Better reclaim thy deserts, turn thy swords
To ploughshares, shave and wash thy Bashkir hordes,
Redeem thy realms from slavery and the knout,
Than follow headlong in the fatal rout,
To infest the clime whose skies and laws are pure
With thy foul legions. Spain wants no manure;
Her soil is fertile, but she feeds no foe;
Her vultures, too, were gorged not long ago;
And would thou furnish them with fresher prey?
Alas! thou wilt not conquer, but purvey.
I am Diogenes, though Russ and Hun
Stand between mine and many a myriad's sun;
But were I not Diogenes, I'd wander
Rather a worm than *such* an Alexander!
Be slaves who will, the cynic shall be free;
His tub hath tougher walls than Sinopé;
Still will he hold his lantern up to scan
The face of monarchs for an honest man."

tion, which France herself would regret to be forced to adopt, but which she would now find herself compelled to follow. He then told me he had taken the resolution of informing the (Russian) general that he must hold him responsible for all consequences; that any measure of the nature of the one now contemplated was an infraction of the law of nations, an infraction of the Treaty of 1841, to which Russia herself was a party, and that in the name of the Sultan, as his representative in one of his provinces, he declared himself opposed to the movement."

The remonstrance of the Porte, which, as it appears, was highly commended by Sir Stratford Canning, was of course unavailing in the absence of any encouragement from Downing Street. For it must not be forgotten that, in answer to an interpellation made by Lord Dudley Stuart, the noble lord then at the head of foreign affairs spoke of the Russian invasion of Hungary in the tone of the despatch of Count Nesselrode. That Lord Palmerston was not as fully alive to the real nature of the *humane motives* of the Czar then, as he must have been to the true meaning of that *moral influence* which Nesselrode indicated as the ground of the Russians, crossing the Pruth, after the Mentschikoff affair, can hardly be supposed.

The Russians, we need not say, after entering Transylvania, tried also to favour with their protection the Szekler districts. But these brave mountaineers, who regard themselves as the descendants of the Huns of Attila, and commanded by the resolute Colonel Gal, declined this friendship sword in hand, and the Cossacks were thus confined to the Saxon towns. Bem, however, continued undaunted, in spite of the Russian auxiliary corps, and though once repulsed with severe

loss from the walls of Hermanstadt, he soon again attempted to capture it. Apprised of the approach of Bem encamped at Schasburg, Puchner, leaving the Russians behind in Hermanstadt, determined upon a sudden sally in the dead of night, in full hopes of forcing the rebels to a surrender by a surprisal. But while the Austrians marched towards their projected victory on a circuitous route, Bem moved on Hermanstadt by the straight road. After a heavy canonade of several hours, the Russians were driven from under the pallisades, erected at a short distance from the gates of the town, the Hungarians soon rendering themselves masters of all the outworks. As the darkness of the night made it impossible to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, Colonel Alexander Kish, one of the bravest of the Transylvanian officers, caused the darkness to be dispelled by throwing up some rockets, when the Honveds broke into the town, and, after a short street-fight, succeeded in routing and expelling the invaders (March 14). Never forgetful to follow up his victories, Bem despatched a few columns to pursue the flying enemy already joined by Puchner, and both were compelled to seek refuge in the Wallachian territory, whither they penetrated through the narrow defile of the Red-tower. A similar fate soon awaited the Russian division quartered at Kronstadt, and before the month of March was over Transylvania was cleared from Russians and Austrians, with the exception of the garrison of Karlsburg, a fortress which the Hungarians vainly attempted to capture. The Gazette of St Petersburg tried to give to the expulsion of the Russians the air of a voluntary retreat, a policy also imitated by the Russian diplomatists. That the Czar might have felt perfectly relieved after the flight

of his Cossacks from his anxiety about those inhabitants of Transylvania, whom he wished to save from massacre, will be seen from the following official information sent by the British consul to Sir Stratford Canning :—" Mr Grant left Hermanstadt, and took his station on the roof of a house in the *Faubourg*, from whence he saw the whole Hungarian forces occupying the high grounds, about half an hour's distance from Hermanstadt, having in their front the Russians; the fire was actively kept up chiefly by the artillery, from four o'clock p.m. till half-past eight, when the Russians precipitately retreated through Hermanstadt. The burgher guard of the town, on seeing this retreat, threw away their arms, and fled in all directions; the Hungarians closely pursued the Russians through the city as far as the *faubourgs* of Schellerberg, where they established their outposts, and then took up their quarters in the different squares of the town and suburbs. Not an act of pillage appears to have sullied their conduct; not a house fired. The men demanded and took refreshments of such of the inhabitants as remained, and bivouacked, without committing any of the horrors which rumour has hitherto attributed to the Hungarian soldiery."

In the meantime, the Görgei army prepared for the commencement of operations upon Pesth, according to the plan laid down by General Vetter, while in the Banat affairs assumed rather a threatening aspect. Strengthened by fresh levies from Servia the Austro-Raitzen army ravaged all the surrounding counties, and advanced as far as Arad, a fortress in the hands of the Austrians, and held under siege by a Hungarian corps, "The Servians," says Mr Fonblanque, British consul-general at Belgrade, "have been driven

from before New Arad with a loss certainly exceeding 1200 men. It was a well-timed charge of cavalry that decided the affair; and but for the impediments caused by the rapid progress of thaw, it is believed that the Hungarians would have succeeded in retaking the citadel. The Servians have also been foiled in an attack upon Söreg and Szegedin, where they had about 130 men killed. Knitchanin's party submitted a project that 1000 men should be raised and equipped in each of the seventeen Servian districts to be paid by Austria, and after clearing the Banat and Transylvania of Magyar troops, proceed with the imperial troops to Lombardy, the rank of an Austrian major-general being previously conferred upon Knitchanin." It may here be added that a rifle battalion of Tyrolese, and two Polish legions, which bravely fought for the Hungarian cause, were but a feeble counterpoise to the numerous ferocious Servians that ravaged Hungary.

It was now that the chief operations against Windischgratz were about to commence. The first indications of spring, after an uncommonly severe winter, were in themselves a great source of joy for the Honveds, who were besides in good spirits in consequence of their large numbers concentrated on the Theiss. Here a few words may be said of the hussars, the only cavalry of the Hungarian army. The recruits for these regiments are generally drawn from Lower Hungary, consisting mostly of horse keepers and herdsmen, who live through years on the vast heaths and plains, far from any town or village. Austrian policy took all care to have these fiery sons of the wilderness officered by foreigners, thus to divest them of their peculiarly national character. All these

efforts, however, proved completely useless, the moment Hungary was threatened with war. Scarcely had a single proclamation reached the hussars, quartered in Galicia and the other parts of the Austrian empire, than abandoning their posts, they broke their way home, regardless of the numerous obstacles and perils they encountered before reaching the frontiers of their fatherland. These deserter-hussars formed the pith of the Hungarian cavalry, which soon proved a match even for the Austrian cuirassiers. The infantry likewise numbered a few thousand old soldiers, though many of the new Honved regiments proved from the very beginning as brave and serviceable as any disciplined troops. The peculiar characteristic of the hussar is a sort of chivalrousness, and a full confidence in his superiority over the Austrian. On one occasion when an attack was ordered on the enemy's cavalry, a hussar sergeant is said to have uttered the following prayer: "O God, all I beseech of thee, is not to assist the Austrian, and then my work will be done." This anecdote, whatever its authority, may be regarded as truly characteristic of the feelings of the hussar.

Divided into three bodies, the Görgei-army, after having crossed the Theiss at Fured, advanced on the Pesth road. The commanders of the three bodies were, Damyanics, Gaspar, and Klapka, all of whom had been advanced to the rank of generals. While Damyanics tried to outflank the enemy, general Schlik, one of the ablest and most generous of the Austrian commanders, engaged the Gaspar brigade at Hatvan (April 2). After having firmly received the onset of the Austrian cavalry by forming themselves into squares, the Honveds, aided by a simultaneous attack of several hussar squadrons, assumed the offen-

sive. The enemy's artillery was soon silenced, the centre broken, and the whole compelled to a retreat. Two days afterwards a similar victory was gained by the third or Damyanics corps at Becske, which sufficiently proved the impossibility of the Austrians making any advance. But an engagement more serious than any of those that had hitherto been fought, took place on the 6th of April at Issaszeg. This battle, in which the bulk of both armies took part, and which lasted from morning till sunset, undeniably proved the superiority of the Damyanics corps over the rest of the Hungarian army, as well as their invincibility. After the Klapka brigade was compelled to a precipitate retreat, and in spite of the seventh army-corps not having occupied their intended position, Damyanics, who formed the right wing, received with undaunted bravery and unflagging steadiness, the whole shock of the enemy's attack. His lines closed up like waves at each gap made by the Austrian artillery, continuing now to repel the enemy's horse at the point of the bayonet, and then to advance, till the Klapka corps again rallied, when the enemy was with the last rays of the sun driven from the battle field. The flying columns of Windischgratz reached the suburbs of Pesth, whose inhabitants drew hope from the very roar of the cannon—the unmistakeable harbinger of the approach of the Hungarian army—and were filled with secret joy when the straggling Austrians retreated within the precincts of the town. Damyanics immediately advanced upon Waitzen, a town lying further up the Danube, and after a short, and bold assault, drove out and dispersed the Austrian garrison.

Such was the fate of the Austrian army up to the date of the 10th of April. Driven consecutively from the

banks of the Theiss to the Danube, by troops who had scarcely had time to go through the alphabet of discipline, for the most part *boys*, officered by barristers, chaplains, scholars, and professors, it was already discouraged and half-demoralized.

The revolution which but a few months back was beset with all imaginable troubles, and apparently in a most sickly state, stood now forth with the arms of a giant, striking terror into the heart of its adversaries, and commanding the enthusiastic devotion of its followers. All classes of the population rallied round its standard—the greater part of the aristocracy served it either in council or in the field, some of them not shrinking from the greatest sacrifices—such as the noble Count Stephen Karoly, who besides submitting, with his two sons, to the fatigues and perils of the camp, raised a hussar regiment bearing his own name. In short, even the higher ranks of the ecclesiastical order, in marked contrast with the conduct of the seventeenth century, united their efforts to promote the national cause. Nor was the purely mental revolution less striking than its manifestations on the battle field. The long series of the dynastic plots gradually coming to light amid the savage scenes of civil war, led the people to think of the Hapsburg dynasty only with horror and disdain, so much so as to spit at the mention of an imperial promise or vow, as man does at the sight or memory of an unclean thing. But what served to alienate from the dynasty even the indifferent-thinking portion of the population, was the promulgation of the constitution of the Emperor Francis Joseph, March 4, 1849. This charter, not wanting, as may easily be conceived, in provisions truly constitutional, was meant to transform Austria into one indivisible

empire, and, consequently, aimed to render Hungary an Austrian province, and obliterate all its ancient institutions. Kossuth, after having spent a few days in the camp during the victories just mentioned, returned to Debreczin, and immediately afterwards proposed to the Diet to proclaim the independence of Hungary. After a conference held with closed doors, the representatives met on the following day in the large Protestant church of the town, and proclaimed in the presence of an applauding audience the following decrees :—

I. That Hungary, Transylvania, and the provinces belonging to it, are hereby declared a free and independent State.

II. That the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine, by its treacherous conduct and armed attack on Hungary; by its attempts to destroy Hungarian independence by force of arms; and by having called in the aid of a foreign power to assist in this murderous attempt, has torn with its own hands all the treaties binding it to Hungary; and therefore the said dynasty has forfeited all right to the Hungarian throne, and is declared banished for ever from the country.

III. That Hungary, as an independent State, desires to maintain friendly relations with all other countries, and particularly with those which were heretofore under the rule of the same house, as well as with Turkey and Italy.

IV. That the future form of government shall be decided subsequently in accordance with the interests of the rest of Europe, and that in the meantime a president or governor, assisted by a ministry, shall be nominated for the provisional government of the country.

This solemn act took place on the 14th of April,

and was followed by the unanimous nomination of Kossuth as governor. A few days afterwards followed the formation of the new ministry under the Premiership of M. Szemere, the late minister for Home Affairs, and who during the various phases of the war exhibited an unremitting activity. Count Casimir Batthyany, one of the most chivalrous magnates of Hungary, who had served the revolution on the battlefield, was called to the portfolio of Foreign Affairs; Vakovics, a name of spotless reputation, and well-known in the ranks of the Hungarian liberals, was nominated Minister of Justice, and Csany, then a plenipotentiary-commissioner in Transylvania, minister of Public Works; while the portfolio of Public Instruction was given to Horvath, one of the most enlightened of the ecclesiastics, known as the author of a History of Hungary, and whom the revolution elevated to the bishopric of Csaned.

What were the reasons which induced the leading politicians to proclaim the independence of Hungary before the end of a campaign, which, though undoubtedly most encouraging, was not yet at an end, it is hardly possible to conceive. This much, however, may be said (though the existence of such an idea in the minds of the legislators cannot be with much reason assumed), that by this act the fairest opportunity was offered to the powers of Europe openly to pronounce on the position of the Hungarian people. The events which followed immediately afterwards, however, were the best comment on that act. From Waitzen Damyanics, leaving Görgei behind with his staff to give himself up to his critical musings on the Declaration of Independence, pressed onwards to Nagy Sarlo. Here the enemy, strengthened by several regiments which

had witnessed the dispersion of the Piedmontese army on the field of Novara, lay encamped among the mountain passes, under the command of General Wohlgemuth. By this time, it may here be observed, Windischgratz having been called to the court under the pretext of taking part in a council, was removed from his office, and superseded by Welden. The Hungarians, already emboldened in the extreme, and enraged, in addition, by an order of the day from the Austrian commander, which fell into their hands, in which, of course, no very respectful allusion was made to the "rebel Honveds," commenced the attack with an ardour and impetuosity which elicited loud cheers even from their valiant commander, repeatedly assaulting the enemy's artillery despite of the grapeshot spreading death around. After a deadly fight continued from daybreak till late in the afternoon, the Austrians, broken in the centre, with their left wing entirely routed, abandoned the field to their victors, and fled as far as the Austrian frontier. This battle was fought on the 19th of April, and was soon followed by the relief of Comorn, as well as the evacuation of the capital by the Austrian reserve, with the exception of the fortress of Buda, which was occupied by a small garrison.¹ No less brilliant was the success which attended

¹ From the dispatches of Lord Ponsonby, one is led to think that all these successes were scarcely anything more than a dream. According to his Excellency, Field-Marshal Windischgratz ordered a reconnaissance to be made on the 4th and 5th of April, to learn the real number of the enemy, and after having found that they were 50,000 strong, he retreated towards Pesth; but upon this "the insurgents advanced upon Issaszeg, when they were repulsed with considerable loss." Lord Ponsonby, however, seemed to know that the Austrians were out-manœuvred

the Hungarian arms in the South. With an army hastily organized, and mustering but a few thousand tried soldiers, Perczel drove before him the Austro-Serv-Raitzen army, took with one bold assault the stronghold of St Thomas, and cleared the long line of the Roman entrenchments. It was now, before the triumphant march of Perczel, that the Raitzen most felt the weight of retributive justice.

Such was the aspect of Hungary before the month of April passed away; nothing but tidings of joy, no report but that of victory. And let it be here noted, that, despite the unsympathizing policy of Europe, to have lost the Hungarian Revolution after it had reached this pitch of success, must be owned to appear like a masterpiece of mismanagement. It is assuredly no slight matter of amazement to contemplate such days when, by a strange process, the most heterogeneous and most repulsive particles of society became, so to speak, in the moment of their complete dissolution, united into an indissoluble whole—when what seemed solid like iron is at once dissolved like hailstones in the sun light; what seemed as yielding as wax leaps forth with sinews of steel; and what but yesterday would have been held a sick man's dream, walks forth to-day in earnest reality, all-powerful and majestic. An imperfect name Revolution for such a state of things! An idle play of human reason to attribute such phenomena to what are termed revo-

at Waitzen, a fact he attributes to Dembinsky, then several days journey from that town, and in revenge for which he causes the Hungarian garrison of Comorn, abounding in good bacon and wine, "to eat horse flesh."—See *State Papers*, vol. viii. pp. 178, 179.

lutionists; as well might we believe that he who can weather the storm is also able to raise it! Man can as little cause the lightning to dart through the sky, as impart that electric current to a nation in travail, which comes only from above. But neither ought we to forget that in such times there are at hand such as are more or less gifted with the powers to conduct and regulate that current to a successful issue.

After the victory of Nagy Sarlo, Görgei, who, as before observed, had remained behind at Levenz instead of ordering an onward march, which would have led the Hungarian troops within two days to the walls of Vienna, and scattered the court to the winds, decided upon bringing back the army to Buda, which was garrisoned by 3000 Austrians. The reasons which Görgei himself mentions in the justification of this conduct, such as, the want of provisions and ammunition, the obstruction of the road caused by the vehicles of non-commissioned officers and suttlers, and the change in the chief command made in the Austrian army, are too ludicrous to be accepted as the real motives of his delay. Nor is Görgei's intimation of the unwillingness of the old Hungarian troops to cross the Austrian frontier a more plausible pretext. For if the commander-in-chief had time to give himself up to considerations as to the difference between the laws of 1848 and the Declaration of Independence, this cannot be supposed to have been the case with the rude hussars. These enthusiastic sons of Hungary as little thought of these political scruples during and after the battle of Nagy-Sarlo, as the British troops may be imagined to have pondered over Blackstone's Commentaries on the field of Waterloo. The reason of Görgei's unwillingness to pursue the enemy must,

therefore, be looked for somewhere else. With his feelings towards the government, so unreservedly put forth in the proclamation of Waitzen, Görgei, as the titular commander-in-chief, naturally took umbrage at these men's declaring the independence of Hungary without his consent or authorization, and thus thought proper to punish the government by allowing the Austrians to recover and to unite with the near approaching Cossacks. While the Austrian bulletins proclaimed victories, made known through the papers to the whole of Europe, and faithfully copied by Lord Ponsonby for the information of the British government, the court secretly applied, again and again, for aid to Russia. The first request was made in March, and, in consequence of the rapid advance of the Hungarian troops (not of course from any fear produced by the verbal declaration of independence), the Austrian prime minister, Prince Schwartzenburg, more emphatically solicited the speedy march of at least one Russian corps, supporting his demand by pointing to the fatal consequences which would ensue if the rebels should take Vienna. We shall soon see that the Czar was not long in granting the request; and, in the meantime, let us return to Buda.

This town, lying on the right bank of the Danube, consists of several detached groups of houses; the chief street is in front of the river, and extends up to the place called Old Buda, at two miles distance. The fortress is a lofty rock surrounded by a wall, forming in itself a small town, the finest part of which is the square, in the centre of which stands the royal palace, surrounded by several no less magnificent edifices, once so gay in the days of Matthias Hunyadi. The fortress is divided by a deep and narrow valley from the high

mountain range, covering from the sight the vine-clad hills lying further off, which encompasses it in the form of a crescent, its two extremities reaching the banks of the blue-rolling Danube. The left front of this mountain, raising its brow above the rest, is called the Bloksberg, and is adorned by an observatory. In the narrow path that intervenes between the Bloksberg and the Danube, bubble forth several warm springs, long since transformed into regular watering-places, which, much as they served in former days to heal the wounded, are at present of no less importance in strengthening the weak and in purifying the unclean. On the Old Buda side similar springs arise from the rocky strata, known as the Emperor's Bath. Opposite to the large and sumptuous buildings of this watering-place, an island of two miles in length lies in the middle of the river, formerly the favourite resort of the old palatine Joseph, and known by the legendary name of St Margaret's Island. The strength of the fortress of Buda lies chiefly in the steepness of the rock, which renders an assault, or the scaling of its low walls, a hazardous attempt; and its possession is so far of much consequence, as it gives complete command over Pesth and the opposite side of the Danube. This large town is quite differently situated from Buda, occupying, as it does, a level plain, which extends several miles round. Being, properly speaking, a new town, Pesth can boast of no regularly built squares. Its long straight streets, presenting a row of houses of different shapes and heights, are, however, equal to those of any of the European capitals. The most imposing of these is the Danube line, more than a mile long, which when lit at night, seems at a distance like a row of lamps floating on the Danube. The finest edifices of this town,

which is as lively as Buda, from its *bureaucratic* character, was dull, are the hotels, generally built in the form of a triangle, presenting a wide side in the front, and enlivened by a coffee-house on the ground floor, the usual place of *rendezvous*, and for the reading of the newspapers. Nor does the enjoyment afforded by spending an hour or two in such a coffee-house imply in Hungary the necessity or *convenience* of putting in requisition the services of the waiter. So much as to the aspect of the capital.

The siege of Buda commenced on the 4th of May. The principal commanders of the besieging corps were Nagy-Sandor, Aulich, Kmety, and Knezich. About this time a comparatively trifling accident occurred, which bereft Hungary of the bravest of its generals. While driving near Comorn, Damyanics, the Hector of the Hungarian army, fractured his leg in consequence of a fall. This disastrous incident soon proved as fatal for Hungary as was the death of Epaminondas to the arms of the Thebans. The first week of the siege passed away, amid an ineffectual cannonade exchanged between the garrison and the Hungarian batteries, which were posted in various positions along the mountain range called Svabenberg, and especially on the Bloksberg. This negligence evinced by the besieging corps was attributed by Nagy-Sandor to Görgei, which he did not hesitate to indicate to the government. According to Görgei's own statement, however, the inefficacy of the siege was owing to the absence of larger guns, which were only afterwards brought from Comorn. The commander of the fortress, Hentzi, being summoned to a surrender, rejected the proposal as peremptorily as it was made; and unable to silence the fire of the besiegers, subsequently carried on with more

energy, he revenged himself by trying to destroy the finest buildings of Pesth. The bombs thrown across the Danube proved chiefly fatal to the Danube line, laying in ruins the "Queen of England Hotel," the magnificent theatre standing near it, and a few other of the finest edifices. The population of Pesth, to escape accidental death, left their houses and repaired to the Town-grove and Orczy Park, lying at the two extremities of the town, and lived there for weeks under tents, till after the capture of the fortress. The siege continued for nearly three weeks; when, on the night of the 20th of May, all the besieging batteries began to pour in their fire upon the fortress with a continuity and fury which set the very Danube trembling. In the midst of this roar of artillery a number of ladders were at once brought to the ramparts, already marked by many a breach. It was after midnight that the Honveds, like a swarm of bats, commenced the scaling of the walls—the garrison, though already decimated, and in despair, continuing to keep up a steady fire with their small arms, which precipitated many of the fool-hardy besiegers into the valley beneath when already within the breach. But the Honveds still pressed on, until, like a heaving tide, they swept over the walls, and planted the national tricolor on Buda's towers with the first rays of the rising sun (May 21). Of the generals, Nagy-Sandor was the first to set foot on the walls. Among the other superior officers who distinguished themselves were Kmety, Knezich, and Inkey. The bloody fight was now for a while continued in the street till, after a few hours, the garrison threw away their arms, imploring the mercy of the victors. Hentzi himself, severely wounded, fell into the hands of the adversaries

whom he had so much slighted ; and after his death, which followed soon after, was buried by them with all the military honours due to his rank.

The storming of Buda was undoubtedly a high feat of valour, which, like the success of the whole spring campaign, must be attributed to the prowess of the army at large, rather than to any deep-laid plans or strategic skill. And while it was highly flattering to see subaltern officers, suddenly raised to the rank of generals, prove a match for the old and renowned leaders of the Austrian army, it must at the same time be noted, that there was, strictly speaking, no pre-eminent military genius in the Görgei army. The spring campaign, it must further be observed, though its titular head was Görgei, had nothing of the individual character which marked the campaigns of a Napoleon or a Wellington. It was the work of many, though, as regards execution, Damyanics undoubtedly was the foremost.

On the motion of Szemere, the prime minister, the government determined to bestow on Görgei the *first-class* medal of military distinction, which was conveyed to Buda by a deputation. Görgei however refused to accept of this mark of distinction, under the plea that such rewards were "not compatible with the nature of democratic governments." In the meantime confused rumours of the approach of the Russians daily gained ground ; while Görgei, instead of leading the army in advance, undertook a journey to Debreczin, there (as appears from his *à posteriore* confessions) to ensure the laws of 1848 against the Hapsburg tyranny, by a consultation with a few deputies, who, after the end of the war, gave themselves the flattering name of the *Peace Party*. Such a state of affairs gave of course

ample time to the Russians for approaching with ease to the Hungarian frontiers, without any particular fear as to the fortunes of the Austrian dynasty. In this instance Count Nesselrode no more speaks of the utter helplessness of the Hungarian rebels and the ill-will which would impute to Russia political motives for interfering in the affairs of Hungary; most wonderfully forgetting the first Russian invasion which took place two months before. The Russian minister, after confessing the progress which the rebels have made, and pointing at the Polish officers in the Hungarian camp, who, as is insinuated, absolutely decide the plans of war, which is to be followed by an insurrection in Poland, speaks thus to M. Brunnow: "The emperor in leaving, to his great regret, the passive and expectant position which he had hitherto maintained, remains not the less faithful to the spirit of his former declarations. In fact, in announcing that he recognised the right of states to decide as they should think fit respecting their political institutions, in scrupulously abstaining at the same time from interfering in the changes of their governments, as well as of their internal organisation, His Majesty has taken care always to reserve to himself an entire freedom of action, whenever neighbouring revolutions should place his own safety in danger, and whenever the territorial equilibrium established upon his frontiers should be troubled to his prejudice. But that our internal security is menaced by what is passing and preparing in Hungary is evident from the projects and the avowed efforts of the insurgents; and every attack upon the integrity and union of the Austrian empire will be one on the actual state of territorial possession, which is in accordance with the spirit of treaties, and which His

Majesty thinks necessary for the balance of power in Europe, and the safety of his own States."¹ Here Count Nesselrode continues to shew that an independent Hungary could never have a chance of supporting itself against the power of Austria; and while penetrated, as its chiefs are, with a hostile spirit against Russia, it would not the less constitute a great danger for her. In short, like Xerxes, who proclaimed that Aristides squandered the treasures of Greece, the Czar expresses his wish to vanquish anarchy, confident at the same time in the acknowledgment of his noble efforts by the western powers. To this document we have nothing to add, as we shall again return to the intervention question; contenting ourselves with remarking, that in this announcement of the intervention in Hungary made to the court of St James', the Czar particularly alludes to his merit in having crossed the Pruth and occupied the Danubian provinces.

But while the European courts knew perfectly what was gathering over Hungary, already so deluged with blood, the government in Debreczin was utterly in the dark as to the movement of the Russian forces, believing that they were only intended to hold Gallicia in order to enable Austria to withdraw thence all her troops. The Cossacks in the meantime drew nearer to the frontiers, which produced however no visible signs of bolder measures. Dembinsky lay at that time encamped on the frontiers of Gallicia with a body of 14,000 men. The task of this observation corps, as may easily be seen, ought to have been to go and meet the Russians on the Polish soil, which in the worst case imaginable would at least have given more time for

¹ See *State Papers*, vol. lviii., 1851, p. 203.

farther defensive preparations. The Hungarian government, however, in spite of the high sounding programme of the prime minister, shrunk from decisive measures, probably from fond hopes of exciting the sympathy of the western courts of Europe. As France was then circumstanced, with a Napoleon determined to reinstate the pope, and to seek military glory by the conquest of a handful of Romans, Hungary could hardly expect to see a protest raised from that quarter against the resolution of the Czar. But with respect to Great Britain, the Russian invasion, especially when viewed in its unavoidable effects on the Porte, suggested quite other expectations. It will however be seen that Britain fully acquiesced in the policy of the Czar; and in order the more fully to understand the conduct of the Court of St James' we must turn to the debate in the House of Commons (July 21, 1849), when the Cossacks were already spreading devastation and murder within the boundaries of Hungary. This debate, deriving particular importance from the present state of Eastern Europe, and being, besides, the first debate on Hungarian affairs in Westminster Hall, well deserves to be here recorded. The allusions made on that occasion to what was expressed in the other House, make it necessary to allude in a few words to what had passed in the House of Lords the night before. It may in passing be observed, that the peers of England avoided as far as possible the Hungarian question, for the discussion of which a fair occasion had before this been offered by the presentation of a petition from the city of London, through that liberal nobleman Lord Beaumont, praying Her Majesty to acknowledge the independence of Hungary. In the debate, opened by Lord Brougham, the ministry were taxed with an unjust

policy, pursued in regard to the affairs of the Italian peninsula. The Earl of Aberdeen, who chiefly contributed to the discussion of that night, accused the Minister of Foreign Affairs of a treacherous policy, saying, that "he would not give a farthing for a private protest made in the king's (of Sardinia) ear against commencing a war with Austria;" and that "the hostility evinced towards Austria almost amounted to a feeling of insanity. In short, the noble Earl deplored the perfidious conduct of Her Majesty's government towards her *ancient allies*, and deeply regretted the conduct of the British Consul at Rome in having given passports to foreigners engaged in that war, though such conduct, as was admitted, served to save their lives. Finally, in deploring the hostile feelings of the British agents to Austria, the noble Earl could only find a point of consolation in the conduct of Lord Ponsonby, who, as it was remarked, "*told his story in a downright way, and who contradicted the insinuations and calumnies which were so welcomed in England.*"

The following day Mr Bernal Osborne, after having taken a review of the past history of Hungary, and shown, with his usual point and precision, the different struggles of Hungary with the house of Austria down to the year 1848, and how then Ferdinand V. had been "shuffled off the throne," and succeeded, not by his lineal successor, but by his nephew Francis-Joseph, thus continued, in reference to Lord John Russell, who, in speaking of the affairs of Hungary, made use of the word "insurrection" (which, however, his lordship, in interrupting the speaker, said he had not used as implying that the movement was an unjust one). "The noble lord was quite correct; he used the term without reflection, which, although signifying illegality

in this country, in Hungary signified what was legal and right, for when they made a levy *en masse*, in defence of their liberties, the Hungarian term used was *insurrectio*; and when the Hungarian Diet, in 1741, said, *Vitam et sanguinem pro nostro et rege*, that was *insurrectio* in the Hungarian sense of the word; that indeed was an insurrection in a good sense. It was the legal term of Hungary. Long might such insurrections be in fashion! Such was the insurrection for which Hampden died. Such was the insurrection of 1688! Insurrections which formed the proudest pages in our own history; where the perfidy of a despotic court had been defeated by the righteous struggles of a determined people! In another place, they had been talking of the 'paternal government' of our ancient ally; and it was extraordinary to remark how, by an adroit adaptation of epithets, they might deceive the public mind for a series of years, and make that appear 'paternal' which was only tyrannical. What had been the conduct of this paternal government? He need not point to the atrocities in Galicia; there the peasant was set against the noble, and the noble against the peasant. He need not point to the conduct of the paternal government in bombarding Milan and Venice on the one hand, and, on the other, Pesth and Presburg. He need not point to the 'paternal government,' who invited the barbarous Cossacks to Eastern Europe, who, if successful, would open a road to Constantinople, and Eastern Europe would become a Russian province—a paternal government which had countenanced the order of the Russian general, Paskewitch, by which he condemned all Hungarians who were found with Hungarian notes to be publicly whipped. Should he refer to the paternal

conduct of the government in hanging Protestant clergymen and Roman Catholic priests with such impartiality as no one even in Ireland could blame? Should he refer to the paternal conduct of burning down villages; or should he refer to the paternal care which flogged women of rank and shot prisoners of war? But this was the 'paternal government' of our 'ancient ally,' which met with such deep sympathy in another place. He passed over the commercial advantages which would be derived by this country, and they would be very great; for our 'ancient ally,' of which honourable gentlemen and noble lords hear so much, had always imposed a duty of 60 per cent on English merchandise. He passed over the commercial advantages to be derived by this country by the recognition of the free and independent kingdom of Hungary. There was another question, in his mind, of much greater importance. This was not a mere struggle for Hungarian independence. He looked upon this struggle which was going on in Europe as a struggle of the two principles of despotism and constitutional government. It was a struggle commenced in Hungary; but who knew where the struggle might not extend? When the last barrier was swept away, Hungary and the finest parts of the east of Europe would become nothing more than slavish dependents of the Russian empire. He had given a vote for arbitration, in the abstract principle of which he perfectly agreed; but he would say, that a time might arrive when he might prefer rather to fight the battle of European liberty in the Baltic than in the British Channel.

"These sentiments might not be agreeable to some, but the evil was more immediate than they thought. When they heard people in another place, whose policy

was the fond desire to see Sicily subjugated, and Hungary a province of the Russian empire—when he heard them heaping obloquy on a foreign minister, the most successful foreign minister this country had ever produced—he said it became them to be on the watch. They had lately passed an alien bill; that bill was meant only to take up unfortunate wretches going about the streets with revolutionary doctrines. There were other aliens, ex-ministers of State, banished from their own country, not for their love of liberty, who, in the upper circles of society, were intriguing, and who had their tools and agents in the other House of Parliament, to malign one who had always shown the greatest liberal tendencies, and to whom, if he had pandered to Neapolitan tyranny or Russian despotism, they would have bowed down and sounded his praise. He entered his protest against this, and said that the liberal party, if there were any in this country, were mistaken in not giving their support to the noble lord, the member for Tiverton. He maintained that that noble lord deserved the support of this country, and that those remarks which had been made upon him in another place did not express the feelings of the people. He took upon himself to say, that the people of this country felt confidence in, and viewed with satisfaction, the course which had been pursued by the noble lord. He should say no more on this occasion. He felt that it was a question which deeply called for sympathy on the part of the House. He felt sure that the noble lord would say nothing to cast odium on a noble nation struggling for their just rights.”

Mr Monckton Milnes spoke likewise in terms strongly stigmatizing the Russian invasion, remarking, at the same time, that if any minister should get Bri-

tain into a war, no matter for how just or honourable a purpose, he would soon become unpopular.

Mr Roebuck "agreed with Mr Milnes that this was a European question, and that the great principle the House had to deal with was, that in the internal affairs of any country no external force should be used to coerce the will of the people." After having premised a few remarks on the despotism of France, which did the same thing in Rome that the Czar had done in Hungary, the high-spirited member for Sheffield proceeded:—"That he could not agree with the honourable member who spoke last, that in all cases the foreign minister would be unpopular who involved England in a war. He did not think that a great or wise sentiment. He maintained that the people of England liked that minister, and held him to their hearts, who maintained the national honour. He would not believe in any school of politicians who took that low level of national morality, that we should bind up all our feelings in the interchange of commodities on the sordid question of profit and loss. He believed that the people of England had a desire to see good government strengthened over the world, and the great name of England used as a means of stopping the advance of barbarian despotism, whether under a French or Russian banner." The learned member then showed how England interfered in the affairs of Belgium and Greece, how the civilisation of Europe was threatened by the Russian intervention in Hungary, and how unbecoming it would be in the people of England to shut their eyes and say, "Oh! we are a peaceable people; we do not want war; we are afraid of war; we want cotton spinning, and linen spinning, and woollen spinning, and we want the profits thereof. He (Mr Roebuck) had

no wish to be considered as linked to the chariot wheels of the noble lord ; and though he stood there rather in opposition to the present government, yet he approved of the conduct of the noble lord at the head of the foreign office, whose principle had been to keep such a front to all foreign nations, as to let them know that, under certain circumstances, they must fear Great Britain."

Viscount Palmerston, in rising, first reverted to the imputations cast upon him in the other House, saying, "that such imputations, if they be sincere, are the result of ignorance and folly, and that, if insincere, he left others to qualify them as they may." Then the noble lord, after expressing his opinion that the political independence and liberties of Europe were bound up with the maintenance of the integrity of Austria, admitted that Austria had, in the opinion of a great part of the continent, been identified with obstruction to progress. "A circumstance," the noble lord continued, "which unfortunately made her proportionately a favourite in the eyes of some; and when one hears such declamations in favour of Austria, he would warn the Austrian government not to trust too much to such protestations." Before turning to the main point, Lord Palmerston alluded to those men who passed their whole lives in adoring Austria, because they deemed it the symbol of the opinions which they entertained, men who transferred their allegiance to France, in which they saw an equal leaning to the arbitrary principle, after which the noble lord thus proceeded:—

"With regard to the present question, I am sure that everybody who has heard what has passed—everybody in this country who has given attention to the

most important events that have taken place in Hungary—must feel that my honourable and gallant friend need have made no apology for drawing the attention of the Parliament of England to transactions deeply affecting the political principles of Europe, and having a most important bearing upon the general balance of European power. The House will not expect me to follow those who have spoken to-day, by endeavouring to pass judgment either way between the Austrian government and the Hungarian nation. I say the Hungarian nation, because, in spite of what has fallen from the noble lord, the member for Tyrone, I do not believe, from the information I have received—and I do not pretend to say I may not be mistaken—but I firmly believe that, in this war between Austria and Hungary, there is exhibited on the side of Hungary the hearts and souls of the whole people of that country. I believe that the other races, distinct from the Magyars, have forgotten the former feuds that existed between them and the Magyar population, and that the greater portion of the people have engaged in what they consider a great national contest. It is true, as my honourable and gallant friend has said, that Hungary has for centuries been a state, which, though united to Austria by the link of the crown, has, nevertheless, been separate and distinct from Austria by its own complete constitution. That constitution has many defects; but some of these defects were, I believe, remedied not long ago, and it is not the only ancient constitution on the continent that was susceptible of great improvement. There were means probably within the force and resources of the constitution itself to reform it; and it might have been hoped that those improvements would have been carried into

effect. But so far as I understand the matter, I take the present state of the case to be this. Without going into the details of mutual complaints, as to circumstances which have taken place within the last year or year and a half, I take the question that is now to be fought for on the plains of Hungary to be this—whether Hungary shall continue to maintain its separate nationality as a distinct kingdom, and with a constitution of its own, or whether it is to be incorporated more or less in the aggregate constitution that is to be given to the Austrian empire? It is a most painful sight to see such forces as are now arrayed against Hungary, proceeding to a war fraught with such tremendous consequences, on a question that it might have been hoped would be settled peacefully. It is of the utmost importance to Europe that Austria should remain great and powerful; but it is impossible to disguise from ourselves, that if the war is to be fought out, Austria must thereby be weakened, because, on the one hand, if the Hungarians should be successful, and their success should end in the entire separation of Hungary from Austria, it will be impossible not to see that this will be such a dismemberment of the Austrian empire as will prevent Austria from continuing to occupy the great position she has hitherto held among the European powers. If, on the other hand, the war being fought out to the uttermost, Hungary should by superior forces be entirely crushed, Austria, in that battle, will have crushed her own right arm. Every field that is laid waste is an Austrian resource destroyed—every man that perishes upon the field among the Hungarian ranks is an Austrian soldier deducted from the defensive forces of the empire. Laying aside those other most obvious considerations that have been touched upon as to the result of a suc-

cessful war, the success of which is brought about by foreign aid; laying that wholly aside, it is obvious that even the success of Austria, if it is simply a success of force, will inflict a deep wound on the fabric and frame of the Austrian empire. It is therefore much to be desired, not simply on the principle of a general humanity, but on the principle of sound European policy, and from the most friendly regard to the Austrian empire itself—it is, I say, devoutly to be wished that this great contest may be brought to a termination by some amicable arrangement between the contending parties, which shall on the one hand satisfy the national feelings of the Hungarians, and on the other hand not leave to Austria another and a larger Poland within her empire. Her Majesty's government have not, in the present state of the matter, thought that any opportunity has as yet presented itself that could enable them with any prospect of advantage to make any official communication of those opinions which they entertain on this subject. I say official, as contradistinguished from opinions expressed in a more private and confidential manner; but, undoubtedly, if any occasion were to occur that should lead them to think the expression of such opinions would tend to a favourable result, it would be the duty of the government not to let such an opportunity pass by. Upon the general question, and in regard to the conduct which it ought generally to be the duty of this government to pursue in its relations to foreign powers, I have heard, with great satisfaction, much that has fallen from the honourable gentlemen who have taken a part in this debate. I think the record of the sentiments that have been expressed will be of great utility."

Here the noble lord went on to show how it was desirable that foreign nations should know that England was desirous of peace, but that, on the other hand, she would submit to no wrong; and continued—

“ I agree with those who think—and I know that there are many in this country who entertain the opinion—that there are two objects which England ought peculiarly to aim at. One is, to maintain peace; the other is, to count for something in the transactions of the world—that it is not fitting that a country occupying so proud a position as England—that a country having such various and extensive interests, should lock herself up in a simple regard to her own internal affairs, and should be a passive and mute spectator of everything that is going on around. It is quite true that it may be said, ‘ Your opinions are but opinions, and you express them against our opinions, who have at our command large armies to back them; what are opinions against armies?’ Sir, my answer is, opinions are stronger than armies. Opinions, if they are founded in truth and justice, will in the end prevail against the bayonets of infantry, the fire of artillery, and the charges of cavalry. Therefore I say that, armed by opinion, if that opinion is pronounced with truth and justice, we are indeed strong, and in the end likely to make our opinions prevail; and I think that what is happening on the whole surface of the continent of Europe is a proof that this expression of mine is a truth. Why, for a great many years the governments of Europe imagined they could keep down opinion by force of arms, and that by obstructing progressive improvement they would prevent that extremity of revolution which was the object of their constant dread.”

Here the speaker observed that England was giving an opinion to the contrary effect to Governments, who used to say, that he whom they really hated and feared was not the "violent Radical" but the "moderate Reformer."

"Those governments," so runs the speech, "those powers of Europe, have at last learned the truth of the opinions expressed by Mr Canning, 'that those who have checked improvement because it is innovation, will one day or other be compelled to accept innovation when it has ceased to be improvement.' I say, then, that it is our duty not to remain passive spectators of events that in their immediate consequence affect other countries, but which in their remote and certain consequences are sure to come back with disastrous effect upon us; that, so far as the courtesies of international intercourse may permit us to do, it is our duty, especially when our opinion is asked, as it has been on many occasions on which we have been blamed for giving it, to state our opinions, founded on the experience of this country—an experience that might have been, and ought to have been, an example to less fortunate countries. At the same time, I am quite ready to admit, that interference ought not to have been carried to the extent of endangering our relations with other countries. There are cases, like that which is now the subject of our discussion, of one power having, in the exercise of its own sovereign rights, invoked the assistance of another power; and however we may lament that circumstance, however we may be apprehensive that therefrom consequences of great danger and evil may flow, still we are not entitled to interpose in any manner that will commit this country to embark in those hostilities. All we can justly do, is to take ad-

vantage of any opportunities that may present themselves, in which the counsels of friendship and peace may be offered to the contending parties.”¹

The noble lord sat down amid the applause of the liberals, including Colonel Thompson Wyld, and even Lord Dudley Stuart (the steady sentinel of liberty), who, as it appeared, were far from guessing the conduct which England really assumed in regard to Hungary from what they were told by the ministers.

As ministers or diplomatists have a particular privilege in saying on one and the same theme many things which would seem contradictory in private characters, we will not investigate into the different shiftings of argument in the speech of the noble lord. It must, however, be a matter of no small surprise to see Lord Palmerston, who spoke of the “*unfitness of a country occupying so proud a position as England to lock herself up in a simple regard to her own internal affairs, and to be a passive and mute spectator of everything going on around,*” send the following answer to the British ambassador at St Petersburg with reference to the Russian invasion of Hungary: “Much as Her Majesty’s government regret this interference of Russia, the causes which have led to it, and the effects which it may produce, *they nevertheless have not considered the occasion to be one which at present calls for any formal expression of the opinions of Great Britain in the matter.*”² Not to enlarge here on the loose basis of the international law, or *jus inter gentes*, in general, it is well worth while to hint at the strange phenomenon, how it comes that the guardians of the law of laws, involving the massacre of thousands and the destinies of a whole

¹ See Hansard’s Debates, 1849, vol. cvii. pp. 786-815.

² See *State Papers*, vol. lviii., p. 197.

nation, feel none of that responsibility with which every judge having to deal with the fate of a single man is necessarily penetrated ; for it would be a hopeless task to prove that those who rule the councils of the first powers of Europe are exempted from the weight of responsibility as regards the construction and application of the international law, which they continually invoke, and the upholders of which they proclaim themselves to be. Tacitly to sanction rude slaughter, as was sure to be the work of 200,000 muskets and 984 guns was undoubtedly no small oversight ! Nor will it be out of place here to recall to mind by whom and under what circumstances the most essential part of that law, viz., the right of intervention, was introduced and applied. This happened at the congresses of Laybach and Verona between 1820 and 1824. At that time Count Nesselrode and Prince Metternich professed to have discerned the workings of one and the same spectre in the different parts of Europe,—a spectre which they called revolution—and for the defeat of which Austrian troops were sent to Naples and Piedmont, while the French army was to attack that Briareus in Spain, while preliminary measures were concerted how to subdue it in Greece. The court of St James', then, through Lord Castlereagh, protested against this indiscriminate assumption of the right of interference, a disapprobation which of course was far from leading the northern powers to relinquish their policy. On the accession, however, of Mr Canning to the head of affairs, when some of the continental powers offered aid to Spain against her colonies, the noble statesman declared, that any foreign interference would only be an inducement for Britain the sooner to acknowledge the independence of the Spanish colonies. From these

instances it will be clearly seen, that the complete assent of the English government to the right of intervention assumed by Russia has no precedents to plead in its favour; especially if it is remembered, that between Russia and the Hungarian territory lay other provinces, so that this intervention could not have been justified even on the plausible plea of what is termed the *droit de voisinage*. Time soon proved the fallacy of this policy, the chief object of which, as expressed by Lord Palmerston, was to preserve the balance of power. This is not the place for an enlarged criticism on the policy of that most experienced of statesmen; but so much may safely be assumed as that this noble lord was not the man to take hold of the opportunities thrown in his way, by the movements of 1848, for the reconstruction of what he was perfectly convinced did not work well. Lord Palmerston does not belong to that class of British statesmen who fall into a swoon at the report of some "*dear ancient ally's*" being pressed by his subjects for the grant of a charter; nay, he had even the heart to hint to such a distressed ally the necessity of yielding. But his *lecturing* policy, if we may so call it, often behind hand, was sure to prove abortive as soon as danger seemed to have passed away, or encouraging circumstances showed themselves in other quarters. Finally, Lord Palmerston in one sense aimed at too much, even impossibilities—a strong Sardinia as the basis of a free Italy—an unimpaired Austria, and a Hungary united to it with a free constitution. Such a scheme it must be seen was not possible to be realised. That a free and independent Hungary would have served a double purpose, on the one hand lending strength to Turkey, and on the other checking the preponderance of Russia, it is scarcely

necessary to prove. This, however, the leading statesmen of Western Europe refused to see.

And now to resume our narrative. A few days after the capture of Buda, the Diet and government returned to the capital, to the unbounded joy of its inhabitants. Görgei, who had been nominated minister of war, obviously as a fair pretext for his removal from the command, was not much troubled about the aim of this nomination. Preferring to hold both these offices, he evinced much activity in removing from the command of the different corps the Generals Perczel, Guyon, and Dembinsky, officers whom he hated, and the more so as they were true and obedient to the orders of the government. In the meantime the Russians, who had already crossed the Hungarian frontier, simultaneously advanced from all sides. The Hungarian commander-in-chief all the while endeavoured to secure the laws of 1848, and ward off the Russian invasion by a recantation of the declaration of independence, and commencing his operations in the Upper Danube only in the latter part of June, while Haynau, now the commander-in-chief of the Austrian forces, and joined by a Russian brigade under Pantuin, lay already encamped at Presburg.¹ On the 20th June the concentrated Austrian forces engaged a Hungarian corps on the right bank of the Danube, near Nyarasd, and compelled them to retreat.² After this, seconded by

¹ See *My Life and Actions*, vol. vi., chap. xiii.

² As appears from the official Russian statement, the invading army in Hungary Proper, under Paskewitch, numbered 168 battalions of infantry, 138 squadrons of cavalry, 52 of Cossacks, 528 guns, 68 generals, and 353 staff-officers. The army under Luders, invading Transylvania from the Danubian provinces, counted 28 infantry battalions, 16 squadrons of cavalry, 18 of

the Russian brigade, they advanced upon Pered, where the engagement proved likewise fatal for the Hungarians, who, besides a loss amounting to thousands, were forced to evacuate their positions. A few days afterwards the enemy occupied Raab, a town from which two roads lead to the capital, in consequence of which Görgei retreated to Szony, opposite to the fortress of Comorn. On the Danube the loss of time was thus deeply felt, while matters did not look much brighter in the other parts of the realm. The main Russian army, under Paskewitch, advanced from Galicia, on the Kashau road, before which the Hungarian corps of observation continually retreated as far as Miskolcz; while General Lüders succeeded in breaking into Transylvania. The defence of the two passes near Cronstadt, called Töröcsburg and Tömös, which affords the only passage from Wallachia, was entrusted by Bem to Colonel Alexander Kiss, than whom a braver and more determined soldier was hardly to be found in the Hungarian army. With scarcely more than 4,000 men to defend both these defiles Kiss at first

Cossacks, 56 guns, 11 generals, and 58 staff-officers. The total thus amounted to about 200,000 men.

The proclamation, by which the Emperor Nicholas sent his Cossacks into the heart of Europe, is too suggestive to be here omitted. "Soldiers!" exclaimed the Czar, "new fatigues, new deeds await you. We are about to aid an ally to conquer that same revolt which you suppressed in Poland eighteen years ago, and which has broken out afresh in Hungary. With the help of God you will prove yourself such as the Russians have always and everywhere been—*warriors faithful to the orthodox faith, terrible to the enemies of all that is sacred, generous to the peaceable inhabitants*. This is what our Emperor and our *holy Russia* expects of you! Forward, soldiers! March towards fresh glory in the footsteps of our hero of Warsaw. God is with us."

succeeded in resolutely repelling the invaders ; but, unmindful of the loss in men, the Russian masses pressed upon the Hungarian batteries, while the Cossacks, by their almost incredible skill in climbing precipices, and crossing steep mountains, began gradually to emerge in the rear of the national troops. Already wounded, with his blood running down his charger's sides, Kiss continued to animate his small band, by advancing at their head to repeated charges, till after a desperate struggle, he fell into the hands of the Cossacks; the Honveds at once faltered and sought refuge in promiscuous flight. After this the Russians, without encountering any obstacle, advanced upon Hermanstadt, then turning to the Red Tower pass, which they vainly attempted to force from the Wallachian side, and whence they now succeeded in expelling the brave garrison, under the command of Ihasz, who sought refuge on the territory whence the invaders came. Bem, then at a distance from the spot, proved as confident as ever, hoping the better to avenge himself the deeper the Russians would penetrate. In this instance, however, he was signally disappointed; having neglected betimes to concentrate the Transylvanian troops, he had only power to annoy and check the Russians for a time, without materially injuring them.

The necessity of the concentration of troops in Hungary Proper was too obvious to suffer any further delay, and in order to save the army of the Upper Danube from useless slaughter, it was determined that it should at once retreat to Buda, thence to effect a junction with the other divisions of the army. The order to that effect was delivered to Görgei by the minister Csany and two generals, who returned to Pesth with the message of Görgei's unequivocal pro-

mise to execute the order. Having failed, however, to do so, he was the following day attacked by the enemy in his entrenched position at Szony, an engagement which was on both sides carried on with equal courage and determination, but without much advantage to either party.¹ In the meantime Meszaros, the late minister of war, was nominated commander-in-chief, while the government determined to transfer the seat of the Diet to Szegedin, a town on the Theiss, southward, taking up its momentary stop at Czegled, a few miles from Pesth, where Perczel, always ready to serve his country, in a few days organized a fresh corps. The new commander-in-chief, General Meszaros, sent the following patriotic appeal to Görgei, dated July 8th : "I summon you in name of the country which you pretend to love so much, to declare whether you mean to subject your will to the decrees of the government, and whether you mean to conduct the army to this place? We ought to know what to think and what to do ; we have vainly looked for the arrival of your troops ; if they do not come here they must be employed in another direction. The country is in danger, and your delays have increased that danger. If you wish to avert it, you ought to move your troops on the right bank of the Danube ; this movement is still a matter of possibility. Again, I summon you to declare your intentions ! General Nagy-Sandor has been or-

¹ On this occasion Görgei led in person his troops, and received a wound, which was rumoured not to have come from the opposite side. General Kmety, in bringing Görgei to task for ridiculing Bem, who was decorated with twenty Polish and Hungarian wounds, says, "Let the arrogant Görgei think of his own sore and discreditable wound, or broken head, given him at Comorn for his brutality by one of his own men."

dered to Waitzen and Gödöllő; I expect your report in Czegled."¹ Görgei, it may easily be guessed, was not much disturbed by the summons of Meszaros, to whom, as may be remembered, he vowed obedience in his proclamation of Waitzen. Instead of moving towards Buda and Czegled to render possible a concentration of an imposing force on the Theiss, Görgei commenced a solitary retreat, leading him just in the front of the main Russian body, to arrive at Arad with worn-out, diminished and discouraged troops, only after the lapse of a whole month, when it was, so to speak, too late to retrieve what had been lost. It would be idle to suspect Görgei of having at that time determined upon his ultimate act of baseness, though his conduct is not the less easily explicable. Envious and ambitious by nature, and never having evinced sincere sympathy with the cause which he was accidentally called upon to defend, he, as was seen, soon looked down with contempt upon those who had raised him,—a contempt which naturally increased in proportion to the indulgence he experienced at their hands. Taking pleasure in setting at nought the commands of the government, he subordinated them to any whim of his own, and with impotent envy tried to impair the fortune of others, without the capacity to mend his own. For had he possessed the power of drawing out a fixed plan of his own he might have manifested it by open deeds and unambiguous words, and ended his career otherwise than by a disgraceful dictatorship of twenty-four hours.

Kossuth, the most popular of national leaders, who did more than any other in casting the different ele-

¹ See *Memoirs of General Klapka*, vol. i., p. 198.

ments of the revolution into a harmonious mould, and in rearing up defenders for it who gloried in his name, was not the man for exacting strict obedience or making the revolution feared. A giant in creating what was good, his powers in destroying opposing evil were those of a dwarf. He believed as fervently in the delivery of Hungary as Robespierre did in the triumph of his revolution, and, prophet-like, he would in moments of extremest danger exclaim, "Austria shall perish, and Hungary be saved!" But he wanted the scorching wrath of a prophet, often too essential for the fulfilment of the vision. In short, Kossuth tried to smooth the greatest difficulties by persuasion, a task as hopeless as the hewing of rocks with a razor. Shrinking at the very mention of a sentence of death, he may well say of himself with the great Athenian, that none of his countrymen ever put on mourning through him. But the salvation of an oppressed people demands sterner stuff in him who heads the enterprise; and the success of a cause against which the half of Europe conspired called for other qualities. Besides the *passive* greatness which consists in the conception of great thoughts and intense conviction of their truth, there is needed the *active* greatness which dares to attempt and unhesitatingly achieves whatever is necessary to the realization of the internal belief. And though success is not always the true test of real greatness, it is, on the other hand, no less certain, that the world will acknowledge him as a great man who avails himself in his position of all that lies within the womb of time and circumstances; and the enduring impress of whose workings will be seen not the less distinctly for having been ostensibly foiled. In his civil capacity Kossuth served the Hungarian cause with that assi-

duity and love with which the first president of America served the cause of his country's independence. But he was a Robespierre without a guillotine and an iron will, and a Washington without a sword. It is, however, to be remarked, that Kossuth was in no way stimulated to an energetic conduct by his colleagues. The prime minister, M. Szemere, from a certain coolness subsisting between him and the governor, the reason of which it would be idle here to investigate, was seen rather to approach to Görgei than to appear as his antagonist, and thus it happened that but a few days before the end of the war, when called upon to lay open the state of affairs, he spoke of Görgei's conduct in a manner which the Diet in Szegedin construed into praise.

No sooner had the government assembled at Szegedin than Haynau took possession of Pesth. On the 19th of July this general issued a proclamation concluding as follows:—"Listen to the warning of an old soldier who has proved how he keeps his word. Death at the shortest notice, without distinction of rank or sex, shall be the lot of him who by word or deed, or the wearing of revolutionary badges, shall dare to support the cause of the rebels; death on him who ventures to insult with word or deed any one of my brave soldiers or those of my allies (the Russians); death on him who enters into treasonable connexion with the enemies of the crown, and who seeks to circulate reports to fan the spark of the revolution; and death on him who shall venture to secrete arms, and who neglects to surrender such arms within the term specified by me." Four days afterwards, before commencing to advance towards the new seat of the Diet, Haynau again spoke to the inhabitants of Buda-Pesth, saying,

that if they should forget his orders "he would look upon them all as responsible for one, and one responsible for all, and consider their lives and properties as forfeited in expiation of flagitious deeds. Your beautiful city," said that man (whose cold limbs the very earth might have shuddered to receive into her bosom), "which now only partially bears the marks of just punishment, would soon be turned into a heap of ruins, a monument of your treason; believe me I keep my word, the faithless inhabitants of Brescia may serve as an example whether I show mercy towards rebels." This sufficiently indicated the fate that awaited Hungary if vanquished.¹ With the advance of the enemy,

¹ This proclamation seems to have frightened even many in the British metropolis; for on the closing day of the session of 1849 Lord Nugent, moved with a feeling of noble compassion, made it the subject of an interpellation. "He (Lord Nugent) wished to know whether this proclamation, which he would not trust his own feelings to characterise, otherwise than by styling it a most astonishing proclamation, and to which the foreign minister's noble nature would doubtless prompt him to affix a much stronger term, was or was not genuine?" Viscount Palmerston "thought it was unnecessary for him to say, that Her Majesty's government read the proclamation with the deepest pain, but that he had no official knowledge as to whether it was genuine or not." On this Lord Nugent again asked, "Should the government be made officially cognisant of it, whether it would then be prepared, as in the case of the Elliot Convention in Spain, to interpose its good offices and its authority if necessary, to stop the perpetration of such horrors which were never before committed or contemplated in war among civilized communities." To this Lord Palmerston replied, "that Her Majesty's government must reserve to themselves a proper and legitimate discretion to act in accordance with what they might think fit as circumstances arose."

As to the result of this interpellation it may be observed, that having had his attention directed to these proclamations Lord

Russian or Austrian, the towns were everywhere sacked, the population exposed to the wanton fury of the soldiery, many villages turned in a few minutes into flying clouds of ashes, while the undulating plains, glittering with yellow corn, were brutally trampled down, or wantonly set fire to, blazing up in an endless flame. The general depression of the people was besides increased by the tenor of the appeal of the government, as well as the ordinance of a *national fast*, a somewhat doubtful means for awakening the feeling of courage and resistance. Still, on the road leading from Szege-din to Gross-Vardein, thousands on thousands stood ready with their battle-axes and scythes, awaiting further orders, and in the mean time deriving courage from the verses of the Golden Trumpet, recited by the itinerary minstrel Sarossy.¹

The population of Szege-din, who have on many occasions proved their prowess against the Serv-Raitzen troops, being besides encouraged by the appeals of

Ponsonby, in compliance with the order of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, sent to London a duplicate of these documents, both in the original German and in English; and that while they were laid on the shelves of the Foreign Office, Haynau commenced to execute his threats with the cross of St Andrew, just bestowed upon him for his merits by the Czar, on his breast.

¹ The Golden Trumpet (*Arany Trombita*), a small work in rhyme in thirteen cantos, embodying the history of the war, by Julius Sarossy, a humorous poet. It may be affirmed, without exaggeration, that this little production (bringing within the comprehension of every peasant the open and broad events of the war, as well as the minutest intrigues of the court of Vienna, in flowing verse, rendered the more emphatic from the many proverbs with which it is interwoven) is a piece of genuine art, and will for ages to come be the best record of the revolution for the people at large.

Kossuth, vowed to defend their town with the last drop of their blood, and hastily fortified it with entrenchments. Pursuant to a government order, the troops of the Banat, under the command of Vetter and Guyon, appeared before Szegedin, there joining several other corps, amounting altogether to upwards of 50,000 men, and placed under the command of Dembinsky. At the approach of Haynau, the determination to give battle before the walls of Szegedin was by some fatality changed, and the Hungarian army retreated to the other side of the Theiss, near Szoreg, the government and Diet having gone to Arad. On the 5th of August Haynau and the Russian brigade effected the passage of that river, in spite of the Hungarian batteries, having, after an obstinate engagement, forced the national troops to a sudden retreat. After this victory, the allied armies did not neglect to pursue the retreating forces, who, instead of following the straight road to Arad (a fortress not long since in the hands of the nation), as was concerted, took the road to Temesvar, a stronghold garrisoned by Austrians. Fighting as they retreated, a more serious engagement commenced in the immediate vicinity of this fortress. This battle, which continued for almost a whole day, and was conducted in part by Bem, who, at the order of the governor, arrived on the spot in the middle of the action, ended in the discomfiture of the national troops, who, including killed, wounded, and prisoners, suffered a loss of more than 10,000 men. This action took place on the 9th of August, the day before Görgei arrived at Arad.

Among the incidents connected with Görgei's retreat, a retreat which weakened the army by numberless fatigues and unavailing skirmishes, was his

treating with the Russians, the exact nature of which no one knew, and which gave rise to rumours that the Russians had something else in view than to assist the emperor of Austria, and that Constantine, the Grand Duke of Russia, shewed no objection to guarantee the Hungarian constitution if crowned with the crown of St Stephen. Advised by Görgei, the government itself seemed to have hoped to gain something by a negotiation with the Russian commander-in-chief, the conduct of which was entrusted to the two ministers Szemere and Count Casimir Batthyany. That such a policy was to prove totally abortive in the presence of a Hungarian army, broken up and retreating on all sides, no deep foresight was necessary to perceive. As is the case, however, in individual life, a nation in the midst of too many and too real misfortunes, will involuntarily discern some glimpses of hope in far-fetched speculations, however confused and incongruous. While the government was thus hoping to gain by such diplomatic schemes, many among the people already saw in fancy the fleets of England approach the Adriatic, and the turbaned Turks cross the Danube; not discarding such fond hopes even when all was lost.¹ It will, however, be well not to forget that similar hopes were also entertained by a statesman as experienced and as noble

¹ It may well here be observed, that the Hungarian struggle would have considerably gained in strength and confidence had the encouraging words uttered from the midst of the civilized and sympathizing nations always found their way into Hungary. In corroboration of this assertion we have only to mention the strong effect produced on the people of Szegedin by an article of a London weekly (the *Examiner*), quoted in *Galignani*, which was smuggled into the country through Belgrade, and translated into the Hungarian *Moniteur*.

in mind. "If it be also true," said Sir Stratford Canning, in a despatch to the Foreign Office, dated Therapia, July 25, "as there is much reason to believe, that General Haynau has issued orders to burn every Hungarian village which harbours the national troops, and that the progress of the Russian army is marked with unusual devastation, it is easy to foresee that the contest will not go far without exerting a strong sympathy elsewhere on behalf of the sufferers, and forcing every other consideration to give way to that of humanity."

The town of Arad lies on the banks of the Maros, in the county of the same name, which is well known for the rich wines it produces. Judging from Görgei's ordering the Nagy-Sandor corps to advance on the road to Lugos, whither the Dembinsky army had retreated, a corps which but yesterday suffered a severe loss at Debreczin, and which (according to Görgei) was the most useless, he had no real intention to effect the desired junction, which now would not have been of much moment. The state of affairs thus looked very critical, and the more so as Görgei brought to Arad along with him the main body of the Russian troops. After the report of the defeat of the army near Temesvar had arrived at Arad, the government decided upon nominating Görgei commander-in-chief, investing him with full powers to treat for a peace. Görgei, however, refused to accept this nomination, on the plea that by it not a single man was added to his forces, urging, notwithstanding, at the same time, upon Kossuth to resign and to invest him with the supreme power. Three of the ministers present, Csany, Vukovics, and Horvath, thereupon met in council with the governor, and resolved to nominate Görgei dictator of Hungary. On the 11th of August, Kossuth announced

his resignation in a proclamation, in which he made Görgei responsible, before God and the people, to act according to the best of his ability to save the national existence of Hungary, and soon afterwards left Arad. The new dictator did not lie idle on his assumption of the supreme power. No sooner had he received his new title than he hastened to inform the Russian general Rudiger of this event, informing him, at the same time, whither to advance in order to receive the promised homage and arms of the Hungarian troops. "Görgei," so runs the bulletin of Prince Paskewitch to the Czar, "having been invested with the supreme power, lays down unconditionally his arms, and his example will undoubtedly be followed by the other rebellious detachments. The officers whom Görgei has sent to offer his submission, have declared that they were ready to repair, either with our own or the Austrian commissioners, to the other troops, in order to determine them to surrender. I have the honour to bring before the knowledge of your majesty, that the only condition Görgei demands is, that he may surrender solely to our army. I have taken measures for having his troops guarded by the corps of Rudiger, whom I charged with the disarmament. I am about to place myself in communication with the Austrian commander-in-chief, as regards the delivery of the prisoners, and other dispositions with reference to the other detachments. As to Görgei's own person, I have ordered him to be sent to my head-quarters, where he will remain till the arrival of the orders of your majesty."

The place which Görgei had chosen for the surrender was Vilagos, a country seat belonging to Bohus, a nobleman who had served the revolution. The army

started from Arad in the night between the 11th and 12th August, and arrived at the appointed place with the sunrise of the second day. Suspecting that some deep laid plan of attack lay at the bottom of this nocturnal march, the Honveds, perceiving several Cossack columns appear on the neighbouring hills, hastily grasped their arms and arrayed themselves in order of battle. Their Dictator-commander ordered them to remain quiet; and this admonition being followed by loud murmurs, Görgei farther said, that as before, he would also now know how to enforce obedience from the refractory and cowardly, adding, moreover, that they should not forget by whom they were surrounded. A sudden silence ensued; the army remained together, amid feelings of confused hope and despair, till the second day, when Görgei, after returning from a parley with Rudiger, who was quartered in a neighbouring village, returned to the camp to execute the disarmament. The whole army was formed into close lines; the infantry flanked by the hussars, the artillery drawn together in the centre. As was ordered, the infantry piled their muskets in pyramids, suspending upon them all their military equipments; while the hussars dismounted from their chargers, leaving behind their swords and their carabines on the pommels of their saddles. When all was done, Rudiger, in the company of Görgei, rode along the line; on the one side lay the pile of arms, national standards, and 140 guns; on the other stood 24,000 men with sad brow, helpless, and ashamed to lift up their eyes to the sun, which, as it were, delayed its departure to illumine a scene too dark for the night itself. Nor did these wretched warriors feel the full sting of their shame until, on the same evening, they were driven like a

herd of cattle, by the Cossacks, to the neighbouring village of Zarand. An unprecedented day, the 13th of August, for Hungary! On the pages of its history many a most disastrous day may be found, but the 13th of August was a day of disaster coupled with ineffable shame. Never have the Russian arms gained such an easy victory, never could the Czar have dreamed of so speedily and entirely humiliating the Circassians of Austria, who, alas! were without a *Schamyl* at their head!

The whole weight of this disaster was naturally first felt by the fortress of Arad, with the disabled Damyanics for its commander. A Damyanics on his feet would assuredly have redeemed the dire scene of Vilagos, either by a brave defence of Arad or a glorious death. But what could a soldier chained to his sick-bed do? After having notified to Rudiger the conditions on which he would surrender, the Russian general asked Görgei to tell the defenders of the fortress how imprudent it was on their part to demand more favourable conditions than he did. Görgei thereupon wrote an open letter to Damyanics, advising him to surrender at discretion. After the delivery of this letter by General Buturlin, the commander of the fortress convened a council, delaying to answer for the space of several hours. Then Rudiger let Damyanics know, that in case of receiving no decisive answer at once, he would withdraw and abandon the fortress to the Austrians. Damyanics still delayed, sending a new draft of conditions of surrender, which having been peremptorily refused, he, helpless in body and broken in spirit, actuated also by confused notions of Russian policy and magnanimity, opened on the 17th of August the gates of Arad. By this time Kossuth roamed a fugi-

tive in Turkey; Arad became the prison of the Hungarian generals and members of the Diet; while Görgei was the guest of Paskewitch at Gross-Vardein.¹

Immediately after the tidings of Görgei's surrender reached Lugos, where Bem was lying with the rest of the army, this veteran tried to animate the troops to farther resistance, and urged them to follow him to Transylvania, where he promised them sure success. He specially summoned General Vecsey, commander of a corps which had lain for months encamped round Temesvar, and which was as fresh for action as a besieging army of a fortress, held by a small disease-stricken and half-starved garrison, might be supposed to be. Vecsey preferred to listen to the orders of Görgei, and to follow his example,—a dastardly conduct which brought him to the gallows. Bem and Guyon, followed by but a small band, then marched upon Deva, in Transylvania, when, after

¹ In alluding in his book to the present made to him immediately after his arrival at the Russian head quarters, a fact which at the time became notorious throughout the whole country, Görgei states, that Paskewitch, accidentally informed of his having been short of money, had first placed at his disposal 300 gold half imperials, having shortly after handed to him in person another sum of 500 pieces. "Both these sums," says the Dictator, "were offered to me as loans for an indefinite period, with the unmistakeable intention of not wounding my feelings. An uncommonly noble act of Prince Paskewitch truly! A few days after Görgei received the special pardon of *the Czar*; after which, the Emperor of Austria assigned for his residence Klagenfurt, in Carinthia, where he continues to live on a pension granted by the bounty of Francis-Joseph. To the leisure afforded by this retreat is due that book, the character of which has been indicated from the references (more numerous than could be wished) already made to it.

having encountered a Russian force, they were obliged to seek refuge in Wallachia. In the meantime, the remainder of the Transylvanian army which, since Bem's being called to the south, was under the command of Baron Kemeny, entirely demoralised by the news of Vilagos, retreated, amid frequent desertions, to Hunyad, the frontier of Hungary Proper. Placed there under the command of Colonel Alexander Gal, they made a short stand, but to no purpose. Even they, crowned with so many victories, were obliged to leave the scene and disperse, to escape the disgrace of surrender. Straggling hussars, who contrived to escape on their chargers, and dejected *Honveds*, spread the mournful tidings in every village, the people scarcely knowing whether what they heard and saw were a reality or a dream. The courts of Europe, however, better knew what had happened in Hungary than the Hungarians themselves; and while the Czar, in the ecstasy of his joy at the success of "Holy Russia," exclaimed at Warsaw,—*Nobiscum Deus! audite, populi, et vincimini quia nobiscum Deus*; and while another *Te Deum* was ordered to be chaunted in the cathedral of St Peter and Paul at St Petersburg, in the presence of the high ladies and cavaliers in gala-dress, Western Europe also joined in this joy, even if it was only a joy of etiquette. After thanking M. Brunnow for the communication of the news, that an end had been put to the deplorable war in Hungary, the noble lord then at the head of the British Foreign Office thus expressed himself in a dispatch, written on the same subject, to Lord Ponsonby:—"I have to instruct your Excellency to express to the Austrian Government the satisfaction which Her Majesty's Government have felt at hearing that the calamitous war which, for the

last two months, has desolated Hungary, has been brought to a close by a *pacification* which Her Majesty's Government hope will prove in its results beneficial to all parties concerned." Here the noble lord goes on to express his hopes that Austria will make a generous use of its success, and have a due regard for the ancient constitutional rights of Hungary. The complimentary part of this dispatch was, as may easily be imagined, highly acceptable to the Austrian prime minister; as to the rest, Prince Schwarzenberg answered in terms rather more than merely diplomatically uncourteous. Almost all the governments exhibited more or less satisfaction at the news of the fall of Hungary, except the cabinet of Washington. Still mindful of its past, that government had given instructions to its *Chargé d'Affaires*, Mr Stiles, to acknowledge the independence of Hungary as soon as he should find from personal experience that the Hungarian government rested on a stable footing; from this trouble the surrender of Vilagos relieved the envoy of the United States!

In the meantime, in Hungary the feeling of bewilderment began to give way before that of deep gloom, greatly increased by the hundreds on hundreds who had served the Revolution either as soldiers or civilians, and who now wandered in disguise from county to county. But, on the other hand, a rock of hope was offered by the fortress of Comorn, still in possession of the national troops. This bulwark, which lies midway between Pesth and Vienna, on the banks of the Danube at its confluence with the Waag, consists of an old fortress, having within its walls gun-foundries, ammunition-stores, and the requisite dépôts for provisions, as well as a new fortress, with bomb-

proof walls, and a long series of redoubts, in addition to outworks, erected with much labour and skill during the war. In front of the fortress, which derives no small advantage from being situated in the midst of a plain, a circumstance highly unfavourable to besiegers, lies the town of the same name, whose inhabitants, amounting to upwards of 20,000, proved as devoted and persevering as did those of Arad. This fortress, garrisoned by 20,000 men, infantry and cavalry, and provided with all the necessary provisions and ammunition for months to come, was commanded by Klapka, one of the more distinguished generals of the Hungarian army, and, at the same time, a good patriot. It was thus very natural to suppose that, as long as Comorn remained in national hands, it would ward off Austrian vengeance; and that, in case of a surrender, the conditions would be such as to save the lives of those who were already imprisoned, extort a general amnesty, or enforce some other provisions regarding the fate of the country at large. At the first summons of surrender made by Haynau, in the presence of a besieging army, consisting of both Russians and Austrians, the Council of War in the fortress prescribed conditions which did it honour. This determination, however, was short-lived. Amid the repeated advances made by the Austrians to persuade the commander of the fortress that the Emperor of Austria was the more anxious to get possession of every spot of Hungary in order to commence with ease his acts of grace, Petervardein was surrendered by Colonel Paul Kiss. In a few days after, on the 2d of October, Klapka likewise opened the gates of Comorn to Haynau. The chief conditions of surrender were, the free withdrawal of the garrison to their re-

spective homes, and the grant of passports to those who wished to leave their country. In this surrender, Klapka was probably much actuated by the sad fate which awaited the inhabitants of the town in case of a prolonged siege, though it is not the less true that a fortified barrack, if kept by resolute men, might extort similar conditions from a blood-thirsty enemy.¹ The garrison of Comorn were, despite the conditions of the capitulation, subsequently enrolled by force into the Austrian army; nor was Haynau much moved by the written protest of Klapka issued from Oxford Terrace, London.

Hungary lay now entirely prostrate, offering not the slightest resistance to the sanguinary decrees that passed concerning her. The Russians began to take their backward route to the north, the Servians returned to the south, only the Austrians remaining with their commander, Haynau, surrounded by bloody tribunals and hangmen. In almost every town of some importance sat these foreign military judges, to whom Francis Joseph confided the complete pacification of Hungary. Arad and Pesth, however, were the centres of these judicial proceedings. By an inexorable decree of Haynau, all the officers below the rank of a general, if not consigned to prison, were pressed as privates into the Austrian service, while all the generals were sentenced to perish by the rope.

On the 6th of October gallows were erected in Arad, within sight of the prisoners of war delivered over by Paskewitch to the Austrians. The following are the names of the eleven generals, all of them late officers

¹ See *The War in Hungary*. By General Klapka. Vol. II., Chap. II. Also, *The Fortress of Comorn*. By Colonel Thaly.

in the Austrian army, and mostly fathers of families, who, with equal determination, bowed their necks to the Austrian hangman :—Ernest Kiss, one of the richest landed proprietors of Hungary ; Aulich, Török, Lahner, Schweidel, Count Leiningen, a native of Kessen, and Pöltenberg, a Viennese, Count Vecsey, Knezich—in better days the commander of the 3d or Damyanics corps ; Nagy-Sandor, who most enthusiastically served the revolution, and was the first in scaling the walls of Buda in May ; and the disabled Damyanics. It will not be irrelevant to dwell a little on the character of this the most singular soldier produced by the Hungarian war.

John Damyanics, formerly captain in the Austrian army, was born in the district of the Banat-Borderers. At the commencement of the civil war in the south, he took the field against the “rebellious Raitzen,” according to the imperial order, and was subsequently advanced by the Hungarian ministry to the rank of a major, and soon after to that of a general. He was a little above forty, of tall stature, and herculean mould. A sombre fire gleamed from his dark eyes, deep-set under a large and open forehead, his aquiline nose lending decision to his full face and down-hanging cheeks half-covered by a thick black beard, which rested on his broad protruding chest. Endowed by nature with as much keen-sightedness as bravery, Damyanics soon discerned the dire game that Austria was playing with Hungary, and with his kindred the Raitzen, which he, with all his heart, vowed to avenge. The 9th and 3d student battalions, which chance threw into his hands, in the sight of so many treacheries committed by several of the late Austrian officers, looked at first with suspicion at the manœuvres of a

commander whose tactics it was to come to close quarters with the enemy, though the way had to be made across death-spreading batteries. It was not long, however, before both the young warriors and their leader became indissolubly united, each encouraging the other to similar feats of valour. Neither in character nor in military knowledge did Damyanics resemble the heroes of modern warfare. As a soldier he was of the stamp of Hunyadi or a Cromwell, with his tactics written on the tables of his heart, guided by an inborn infallible instinct, and executed with an arm made to conquer. To twelve pitched battles did Damyanics lead his Red-caps; in each of them he issued victor, without once being marked by the enemy's bullets. Many a time the "boys" would not allow their leader to go before, for fear of losing him; but Damyanics used to say "he had a contract from heaven to live for a hundred years," and on he marched. Devoted to the national cause, and leaving politics to the government whose orders he delighted to execute, Damyanics, as was seen, marched to the victory of Nagy-Sarlo, while Görgei remained behind to criticise the charter of independence. Disabled soon after by the fracture of his leg, at a time when his country most needed his prowess, he finally fell out with the titular commander-in-chief, whom he had hitherto willingly followed. In the retreat of the army, Damyanics was first carried on his couch from Comorn to Pesth, and then to Arad. In the execution of the sentences, Damyanics was the last but one, having been immediately preceded by Nagy-Sandor. That general prepared to utter a few last words to the bystanders, but being told by Damyanics not to waste speech, he at once ascended the scaffold, and was soon followed by

his disabled comrade, who, with a bitter smile, aided the hangman by keeping his beard in his hand, till the rope was adjusted on his neck.

In the meantime the executioners were no less busy at Pesth. The first of the victims was Count Louis Batthyany, the late premier, who had been kept prisoner ever since he had gone to the camp of Windischgratz with an offer of peace. Count Batthyany, on hearing that he had been sentenced to the gallows, tried to do away with his life by thrusting a knife into his throat. The wound, however, did not prove mortal, and the form of his punishment was commuted to death by powder and lead. His last stammering words were, "Long live the fatherland!" This noble victim was followed by Csany, the minister of public works, who saying that he was too old to begin the life of exile, had resolved to remain at Arad after the surrender; Baron Perenyi, a late lord-lieutenant and president of the upper house; and Szacs vay, one of the most earnest members of the *long parliament*, who aided in drawing up the draft of the Declaration of Independence, a fine orator. Two other generals, Desseffy and Kazinzcy, were, by particular grace, not hanged but shot. Besides those here enumerated, Haynau signed also the death-warrant of many less known, but no less innocent victims.

As the diplomatic representatives of the European powers at Vienna refused to give passports to those who contrived to escape ignominious and cruel death, Austrian rule would probably have killed its executioners with work, had many an unfortunate not succeeded in making his way into the territories of the so-called infidels. The demand for the extradition of the *refugees*, made to the Porte by Austria and Russia,

has been made known through too many channels to require a minute relation. Guided by a natural sense of justice and compassion, the Sultan refused the demand—a determination in which he was strengthened by Sir Stratford Canning (now Lord Stratford de Redcliffe). The two northern powers now began to use threats, and so far to forget their watchword of “Peace,” with which they deluded the other courts of Europe, as to menace the Porte with the declaration that the mere escape of a single refugee would be looked upon as a *casus belli*. In this instance it must be observed Lord Palmerston seemed to have fully felt the responsibility attaching to the position of one of the *de facto* judges and interpreters of the law of nations. It may be remembered that a few weeks before the end of the war, the Austrian government demanded from the Porte the extradition of a detachment of Hungarian troops who fled from Transylvania before the Russians. In answer to the despatch of the gallant and noble-hearted British ambassador at Constantinople on that subject, Lord Palmerston in his answer thus referred to the subject:—“It would be a strained interpretation of the 16th article of the treaty of Belgrade, to construe it to apply to the officers and soldiers of the Hungarian armies, *who have been fighting for the constitutional rights of Hungary against the armies of Austria and Russia*. Such officers and soldiers cannot be deemed to be the persons intended to be described by the expressions ‘*ces sortes de gens*,’ or to be classed with ‘*voleurs et brigands*.’” The noble Lord then expressed his hopes that, as the war was now over, Austria would desist from its demands. As is known, the earnest part of the question followed afterwards, when the British government determined

to back the refusal of the Sultan, by the entrance of the British fleet into the Dardanelles, a policy in which, to the honour of France, the government of Napoleon also joined.

While the refugees were thus secure in Asia Minor another sort of war commenced in Hungary, which is carried on to the present day (1853), a war which triumphant cowardice seldom neglects to wage. This war is carried on with a system of tactics peculiar to itself, by *gens d'armes*, against every person who is unfortunate enough to be suspected of patriotism, or, as it is otherwise termed, *revolutionary* feelings; and its battle-fields are the prisons where defendant, judge, and executioner face each other. Not contented with mere bloody revenge, care was also taken, immediately after the end of the war, to exhaust the pecuniary means of the people. Besides the vast private properties on which the Emperor laid his hand, an order was issued enjoining on every inhabitant to deliver, on a receipt, what he possessed of the Hungarian bank-notes issued during the war. Many of the people, moved by fear, and fully believing also that the receipt would be redeemed by current money, hastened to deliver up what they had. But as soon as that was done an imperial order declared the national paper money *null*, while the commissioners of the Hungarian government had their properties confiscated to defray the amount of that same paper money placed at their disposal during the war! To this must be added the exorbitant taxes ever since levied by imperial edicts; the introduction of the tobacco monopoly, which, besides forcing the cultivator to sell his produce to the imperial treasury, exposes his house to be searched at any moment by the foreign employés; and the complete demolition of all the

ancient institutions, from the office of the palatine to that of the toll-gatherer; and then we shall be enabled to form an estimate of the state of Hungary ever since the end of the late war. The military rule to which the various imperial civil commissioners form only a passive and secondary complement, weighs, as may easily be conceived, on all the classes and races of the Hungarian kingdom. Nor can the Croats and Raitzen find compensation in the fact, that Jellachich and the patriarch Rajasics sat near Haynau round the imperial table, or the Wallachs be contented by seeing their leaders, Yank and Xantus, decorated with crosses.

It is scarcely imaginable that the dynasty will ever again succeed in availing itself of these races, so artfully roused up to its work of blood, and in the end so bitterly deluded. For it must be remembered, that they do not dare, even openly, to mention those liberties which were amply guaranteed to them during the Hungarian rule, uttering their discontent only in hollow murmurs. In short, the present *regime* has not a single redeeming feature, if it be not to be found in the introduction into the country of a host of foreign spies, ostensibly meant to protect personal safety, but who in fact poison the cup of social life.

It would, however, be a great mistake to suppose that the people have not their moments of joy and exultation. Besides the pleasure offered by a variety of stories, which inventiveness is never at a loss in creating, and which are the more readily believed in from their being allowed to circulate but in secret, the recent and but too real past affords ample scope for fond musing and fresh hope. In the evenings, after the daily work is over, the peasant, sometimes in the company of a few of his confidential neighbours, will

sit down on the floor round the large stove, to listen to the camp-adventures of his son, who, either in consequence of being mutilated or some other similar reason, escaped being forced into the Austrian service at the end of the war. He will hear his son relate how, as a hussar-sergeant, he stormed the Austrian batteries at Szolnok; his eyes will kindle with joy in further hearing how the light-horse, now stationed in the village, were put to wild flight at Bicske; and utter a stifled sigh, betokening revenge, when tears glisten in his eyes at the mention of the brave death of his second son on the ramparts of Buda. Such are the scenes, often repeated, in almost every cottage; and it not seldom happens, that a disabled Honved will recognise in the Austrian soldier, now quartered upon his father, him whom, from his out-post service, he had carried away prisoner. Often will several of the late national troops, living in the same neighbourhood, meet in some of the spinning-rooms, where the maidens of the village are assembled, taking usually the precaution to provide from among themselves a few for out-posts, to watch the approach of the *gens d'armes*, who are ever on the move from village to village, and are the most outrageous of the Austrian soldiery. The amusement begins with the chanting of some innocent spinning song, which is soon blended with the melody of a march to the sounds of which Waitzen was taken and the heights of Sarlo cleared. Amid the circling of the wine-cup, often the gift of compassion, the chorus swells higher and higher; the toasts for the fatherland mingle with loud curses on its foes; and in vain do the maidens recommend silence, in vain do the out-posts announce the approaching clash of arms. The cry of vengeance swells from every breast that was once

bared for the sacred cause, the reeling Honved forgetting that he is left only with one arm, the enthusiastic hussar that a crutch supplies the place of a leg. In such outward manifestations and metamorphoses does the revolution perpetuate its existence despite the severe rule of martial law and most unscrupulous punishments. The people have, besides, a deep settled conviction of their own, which no outward pressure can obliterate, and fully aware to whom they owe the abolition of feudality (which the Court of Vienna was prudent enough not to attempt to re-establish), they, on the other hand, too well comprehend the nature of the present *regime*. Scarcely a fisherman on the Theiss, or a shepherd on the *Pusta*, but knows that it is preposterous in Francis-Joseph to force people to allegiance and love by acts of violence; that the emperor of Austria, whatever be his own titles or those of his parents, has no right to tax Hungary at his pleasure, to force her sons into his service, and to send in their stead foreign mercenaries; they know, moreover, that no power can delegate to him the right of disturbing the domestic peace of the inhabitants by a host of armed spies, and of delegating to his tribunals the power of deciding over the property and lives of a whole people. The emperor of Austria can thus hardly flatter himself with a complete victory over Hungary; nor has the European diplomacy now much reason to rejoice at its fall.

It would assuredly betray no small degree of self-conceit on the part of the statesmen of Western Europe, were they to give themselves up to the fond belief that the attitude of Russia, as exemplified in the Menschikoff ultimatum and its immediate consequences, is the result of some unlooked for and sudden scheme

of the caprice of the Czar; and it would, further, be as idle in them to try to believe that the Czar's defiance, in the present instance, proceeded from his supposition of the impossibility of a sincere understanding between the French and English governments. Fully to perceive the hollowness of the last supposition, it will be sufficient merely to recollect that England was the first power in acknowledging the new Napoleonic dynasty, despite public treaties to which she was a chief party; that this recognition was in itself sufficient to exclude the possibility of a Coalition for another Restoration; and that, though the Czar felt obliged to imitate the example of Britain, he did it tardily and without the forms which might have entirely satisfied the new French Emperor. Again, it is notorious that after the subjugation of Hungary, Russia assumed and exercised the part of a supreme umpire in almost every public question of continental Europe. At the behest of the Emperor Nicholas, the Prussian and Austrian armies, facing each other with drawn swords on the Fulda, in 1850, returned quietly to their homes; while on the occasion when Lord Palmerston determined to dispatch the English fleet on a *debt-expedition*, first to the Greek waters then to the bay of Leghorn, the Czar held out threats, that if the claims made on the Duke of Tuscany were not relinquished he would well consider under what conditions to admit British subjects into his dominions. How was it natural to expect, after European diplomacy has listened with apparent reverence, during the memorable events of 1848, to the boasts of the Czar, while sending forth his Cossacks, that "*holy Russia*" would "*fulfil her destiny*;" how, it may be asked, could it have been expected that the Emperor Nicholas, thus led to look

upon himself as the anointed arbiter of the affairs of Europe, should believe in the earnestness of the remonstrances of Lord Clarendon against the present occupation of the Danubian principalities? Or, could he have forgotten, that five years back the same event was passed as an act of merit, and allowed to serve as the basis of further conquest? An unprecedented stigma on modern civilization that was, to applaud such language and such deeds from a despot of the distant north; and a hollow scheme that was (not to speak of its moral character) which purposed to maintain the old equilibrium by placing two powers *hors de combat*, to the sole aggrandizement of a third! For not many words are needed to prove that the present perplexity of the Porte dates particularly from the time when the Principalities were allowed to become the Russian barracks for the troops which entered Hungary, and that this event, supposing even improbabilities—as the complete reconciliation of Hungary and Lombard-Venetia—has neutralised the self-consistency of Austria for many years to come.

There is no room here to dilate on the strange play of diplomacy by which it happened that the Treaties of Vienna have been repeatedly violated in the cause of absolutism; and with a single instance always unanimously invoked and backed with armies when an alteration would have served the interests of freedom. But as much may be proper here as to remark that, not to speak of those public characters whose glories lie in the age of the Holy Alliance and the Congresses of Laybach and Verona, and whose number is too small to be taken into account, there is scarcely a single statesman who is not fully convinced of the evil workings of the present territorial distribution of

Europe; and further, that the efforts made for its maintenance proceeded chiefly from the knowledge of the radical changes required to be made in order completely to avert the existing evil. In other words, the present *balance of power* has hitherto been suffered to remain, and even been supported, from the knowledge that its very basis was false. No liberality of principle is needed to see that the partition of Poland was the best means to open to Muscovite ambition the way into the centre of Europe and the East; and that Austrian rule in Lombard-Venetia serves only to trouble the peace of the South. The present European system, we repeat, was supported hitherto on account of its being *too bad*; but by permitting Russian intervention in Hungary, the statesmen of Europe made it still worse. Such a state of things, owing to the absence of a single man of genius, in the bosom of the great civilised nations, infallibly betokens the great change which is not far distant.

As to Hungary, in particular, with its wondrous history before our eyes, it would be doing violence to human reason to suppose as its goal the furnishing a foreign monarch with the means and arms for the oppression of other nations.

As has been seen, neither the long calamities of four hundred years that fell upon that people from the East and from the West, nor the long oppressions that subsequently followed, could palsy their arms, or vitiate their spirits. Still strong in body, and free in mind, neither broken by calamities, nor old with time, all that has befallen them is but the misfortune of childhood. To this belief of the people in its own indestructible power, must be attributed their abstinence from paltry and partial deeds of vengeance; and their

exemplary long suffering, as exhibited during the last four years : it is from the strength of their self-esteem and their hope that they do not even complain ; uncovering with pride their scars, they scorn to hold up to compassion their wounds.

Sooner perhaps than it is imagined may Hungary again become free, and enabled to accomplish what appears to be her destiny,—To carry Civilization into the East.